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Cleveland, Ohio, May, 1886.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CLEVELAND MEETING,

1886.

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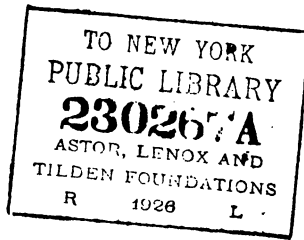
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HARTFORD, CONN.:

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1886.



"Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. . . Who knows not that Truth is strong, next to the Almighty? She needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings, to make her victorious; these are the shifts and defenses that error uses against her power; give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps."

MILTON, "AREOPAGITICA."

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# THE AMERICAN CONGRESS OF CHURCHES.

## OBJECTS AND METHODS.

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The AMERICAN CONGRESS OF CHURCHES has for its object "to promote Christian union, and to advance the kingdom of God, by a free discussion of the great religious, moral, and social questions of the time."

The general management of the Congress is in the hands of a COUNCIL OF TWENTY-FIVE, in which the various churches of America are unofficially represented by clergymen, or laymen, or both. This Council has no intention of establishing a society, or organizing a plan of union, or putting forth a creed; it simply aims, by holding public meetings from time to time, to make provision for a full and frank discussion of the great subjects in which the Christians of America are interested, including those ecclesiastical and theological questions upon which Christians differ. The Council is a self-perpetuating body, not composed of delegates elected by ecclesiastical organizations, and therefore not officially responsible to any church or association. Its executive organ is a COMMITTEE OF SEVEN, chosen from its own members, whose business is to make arrangements for an annual public meeting, and to conduct its various sessions in such a manner as to further the interests of our common Christianity.

The composition of the Council, ecclesiastically considered, may be far from perfect; but it at least indicates the scope and the spirit of the movement, a movement which is meant to be at once comprehensive and conservative. There has been no intention of excluding any church, or of expressing an opinion in regard to the relative value and excellence of any. But it was impossible that every kind of American Christians should be represented, however informally, in a Council of Twenty-five, and equally impossible that any strict ratio should be preserved in the representation actually attempted. As the movement to establish a Congress took shape in Western Massachusetts, the original nucleus of the Council consisted, naturally, of gentlemen residing in that section. It is hoped, however, that the Congress will be accepted as belonging to our whole country, as well as to all our churches, and that its annual assemblies will be welcomed everywhere.

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO**

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---

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## REGULATIONS.

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In pursuance of the chief object contemplated in the establishment of a Congress of Churches—namely, to make provision for the free and full discussion of the great subjects in which all Christians are interested—the Council of Twenty-five has adopted the following Regulations for the government of the Congress in its meetings.

1. The Congress shall, if practicable, meet annually. The President shall be chosen by the Executive Committee from the State in which the meeting of the year is held, and shall exercise the customary functions of a chairman. The Committee shall also appoint, from year to year, Vice Presidents representing different churches, and residing in different parts of the country. But no one shall be announced as a Vice-President who has not signified his acceptance of the appointment.

2. Discussions in the Congress shall be conducted in the following order: First, by appointed writers; secondly, by appointed speakers; thirdly, by voluntary speakers.

3. No appointed writer shall occupy more than TWENTY-FIVE MINUTES in the discussion; and no paper shall be read except by its writer; nor shall any paper appear in the authorized "Proceedings" of the Congress unless its writer has personally participated in the discussion.

4. Appointed speakers must limit their addresses to TWENTY MINUTES, and must speak without manuscript.

5. Voluntary speakers must limit their speeches to TEN MINUTES, and must speak without manuscript.

6. Any gentleman not under appointment, desiring to participate in a discussion, must present his card, together with the

name of the church with which he is connected, to the Secretaries; and no person shall speak until the President has given him opportunity by announcing his name.

7. A bell will be sounded three minutes before the expiration of the time allotted to any speaker or reader. The second stroke, three minutes after the first, is final, and must terminate the reading or address AT ONCE. No one shall be permitted to speak twice on the same subject.

8. It is understood that all papers, as soon as they have been read, will be placed at the disposal of the Executive Committee, with reference to their prompt publication in a volume containing the Proceedings of the Congress. The Committee will make provision also for the accurate reproduction in the "Proceedings" of the various addresses, whether made by appointment or otherwise. But the issue of such a volume—unless some publisher of books shall assume the responsibility—must depend upon the number of subscriptions received by the Committee.

9. NO TOPIC DISCUSSED IN THE CONGRESS, NOR ANY QUESTION OF DOCTRINE OR OPINION ARISING OUT OF ANY DISCUSSION, SHALL EVER BE SUBMITTED TO VOTE, AT ANY MEETING OF THE CONGRESS OR OF ITS COUNCIL.



# THE MEETING OF 1886.

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The programme prepared for the Cleveland meeting contained twenty-two hymns; also a selection of prayers, chiefly from ancient sources, for the use of those who, in conducting the devotions of the Congress, preferred written prayers.

Appended to the programme were the following "notices":

"A cordial invitation is extended to all persons interested in the Congress of Churches, and in the topics under discussion, to be present at the several sessions. Ushers will be in attendance, to wait upon ladies to seats. All are invited to unite in the singing of the hymns.

"Vice-Presidents, members of the Council, and gentlemen under appointment to participate in the sessions of the Congress, are requested to occupy chairs upon the platform.

"Members of the Council, Vice-Presidents from abroad, and gentlemen under appointment will be received as guests of the Local Committee.

"Persons desiring copies of the authorized 'Proceedings' of the Congress, containing the papers read at the meeting, and full reports of addresses and speeches, are requested to leave their names with the Secretary of the Executive Committee or his assistants."

## PROGRAMME.

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The sessions of the meeting of 1886 were held in Music Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, May 25th, 26th, and 27th. The attendance was large, and great interest was manifested in the proceedings of the Congress. It is estimated that at the evening sessions the audience numbered about three thousand. His Excellency, Governor J. B. Foraker, presided on Tuesday afternoon, but on Tuesday night was summoned unexpectedly to the capital, and did not return. At the subsequent sessions the chair was occupied by Vice-President F. M. Drake of Centerville, Ia. The singing was led by Professor N. C. Stewart (and in his absence by Rev. William Johnson, of the local committee) and the choir of the Independent Church which worships in Music Hall, accompanied by the organ. The various services and discussions were conducted as follows, the regulations adopted by the Council being strictly enforced.

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### *TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, 3 O'CLOCK.*

HYMN : "High in the heavens, eternal God."

READING OF THE SCRIPTURES (Psalms cxxii, cxxxiii), by Rev. Jabez Hall, Cleveland.

PRAYER, by Rev. J. M. Sturtevant, D.D., Cleveland.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, by Governor Joseph B. Foraker, Cincinnati.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME, by Rev. Henry M. Ladd, D.D., Cleveland.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE CONGRESS OF CHURCHES, by Rev. Joseph Anderson, D.D., Waterbury, Conn.

HYMN : "Give to the winds thy fears."

DISCUSSION: *A True Church; its Essentials and Characteristics.*

Paper by Mr. D. G. Porter, Waterbury, Conn.

Paper by Rev. Leonard W. Bacon, D.D., Philadelphia, Penn.

Speeches, by Rev. John Henry Hopkins, D.D., Williamsport, Penn., and Rev. Frank M. Clendenin, Cleveland.

HYMN: "Glorious things of thee are spoken."

BENEDICTION, by Rev. Daniel Curry, D.D., LL.D., New York City.

*TUESDAY EVENING SESSION, 7.30 O'CLOCK.*

ANTHEM, by the "Tabernacle" Choir.

PRAYER, by Rev. Y. P. Morgan, Cleveland.

DISCUSSION: *Religion and our Public Schools.*

Paper by Rev. Pres. D. S. Stephens, D.D., Adrian, Mich.

HYMN: "O God of Bethel, by whose hand."

DISCUSSION — continued.

Address by Rt. Rev. Richard Gilmour, D.D., Cleveland.

Address by Rev. J. Coleman Adams, Chicago, Ill.

Additional Speeches, by Rev. Leonard W. Bacon, D.D., Philadelphia, Penn., and Rev. William Barrows, D.D., Reading, Mass.

HYMN: "O worship the King, all-glorious above."

BENEDICTION, by Rev. W. V. W. Davis, Cleveland.

*WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.*

HYMN: "In the cross of Christ I glory."

PRAYER, by Rev. C. S. Bates, D.D., Cleveland.

DISCUSSION: *The Present Necessity for a Re-statement of Christian Beliefs.*

Paper by Rev. Daniel Curry, D.D., LL.D., New York City.

Paper by Rev. E. P. Parker, D.D., Hartford, Conn.

HYMN: "O Lord and Master of us all."

DISCUSSION — continued.

Address by Rev. Reuben Jeffery, D.D., Indianapolis, Ind.

Address by Rev. Otis A. Glazebrook, Elizabeth, N. J.

Additional Speeches, by Elder Wiley Jones, Cleveland, and Rev. B. B. Tyler, New York City.

HYMN: "Thou art the way; to thee alone."

BENEDICTION, by Rev. A. H. Bartholomew, Cleveland.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION, 7.30 O'CLOCK.

HYMN: "Come, kingdom of our God."

PRAYER, by Rev. Prof. A. H. Currier, D.D., Oberlin.

DISCUSSION: *The Workingman's Distrust of the Church; its Causes and Remedies.*

Paper by Rev. Wayland Hoyt, D.D., Philadelphia, Penn.

Address by Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, New York City.

HYMN: "Watchman! tell us of the night."

DISCUSSION — continued.

Address by Mr. John Jarrett, Pittsburgh, Penn.

Address by Mr. Henry George, New York City.

Additional Speeches, by Rev. William Wilberforce Newton, Pittsfield, Mass., and Rev. E. S. Lorenz, Dayton.

HYMN: "O Spirit of the living God."

BENEDICTION, by Rev. Pres. W. B. Bodine, D.D., Gambier.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

HYMN: "God of mercy, God of grace."

PRAYER, by Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, Springfield, O.

DISCUSSION: *Re-adjustments in the Church to Meet Modern Needs:*

*I. In our Cities.*

Paper by Rev. B. B. Tyler, New York City.

Address by Rev. W. S. Rainsford, New York City.

HYMN: "Triumphant Zion, lift thy head!"

*II. In Country Towns and on the Frontier.*

Paper by Rev. S. W. Dike, Royalton, Vt.

Paper by Rev. William Barrows, D.D., Reading, Mass.

HYMN: "Look from thy sphere of endless day."

*III. In Foreign Missionary Fields.*

Paper by Rev. E. S. Lorenz, Dayton.

Address by Ven. Archdeacon W. W. Kirkby, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Additional Speeches, by Rev. H. C. Haydn, D.D., Cleveland, and Rev. Julius H. Ward, Boston, Mass.

HYMN: "Christ, whose glory fills the skies."

CLOSING ADDRESSES, by Hon. R. C. Parsons, Cleveland, and Rev. J. L. Jenkins, Pittsfield, Mass.

PRAYER, by Rev. Reuben Jeffery, D.D., Indianapolis, Ind.

HYMN: "O God! our God! thou shinest here."

BENEDICTION, by Rev. F. S. Hoyt, D.D., Cleveland.

On Wednesday afternoon a luncheon, followed by a social reunion, was provided by the local committee for visitors attending the meeting of the Congress, at the rooms of the Union Club on Euclid Avenue.

On Thursday afternoon, carriages were provided for a drive through Euclid Avenue to Wade Park and Lake-view Cemetery.

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At the Wednesday evening session, the following message, sent by telegraph, was read to the Congress by the Chairman of the Executive Committee:

HOPKINSVILLE, KY., May 26, 1886.

*To the President of the Cleveland Meeting of the American Congress of Churches:*

The South Kentucky Christian Convention sends Christian greeting, in the spirit of John xvii. 20, 21.

B. C. DEWEESE, *Secretary.*

At the Thursday session, the following message was read by the Chairman of the Executive Committee:

SULLIVAN, ILL., May 26, 1886.

*To the President of the Cleveland Meeting of the American Congress of Churches:*

The State Christian Sunday-school Convention of Illinois sends greeting to the American Congress of Churches, now in session at Cleveland. We heartily sympathize with the grand purposes before you.

T. W. PINKERTON, *President,*  
J. H. GILLIAND, *Secretary.*

Other messages were received, too late to be read at the meeting.

# PAPERS AND ADDRESSES.

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## THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

BY GOV. JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

A programme of the exercises appointed for this hour has been placed in my hands,—as it has been placed, I observe, in the hands of the rest of you. I see it herein stated that, as one of the exercises of the occasion, I am to deliver an address. I do not know what may be expected from such an announcement; but I am sure I have not at any time thought, nor do I now think, to say anything that it would be proper to dignify with such a title. Under no circumstances, in such a presence as this, would I undertake to discuss, either generally or specifically, any of the themes which this Congress has convened to consider. I shall, therefore, detain you only to return my thanks, as I most sincerely do, for the very high honor you have seen fit to confer upon me in making me your presiding officer, and with a word or two on behalf of the people of this State, bid you welcome to Ohio.

I have been very kindly furnished with a copy of the "Proceedings" of the Congress held at Hartford last year; and from these "Proceedings" I learn that Governor Harrison, then acting as I am called upon to act now, took occasion to congratulate the Congress upon the fact that its first meeting was held in a State whose motto recognized the existence of God and the dependence of all peoples and all governments upon Him. If that was just cause of congratulation—and most assuredly it was—you will allow me, I know, to congratulate you upon the fact that your second meeting is upon soil that originally belonged to the same God-fearing State of Connecticut—a soil which has a further historical and significant interest in the fact that it was by that State reserved and dedicated to the uses and purposes of education,—a soil, let me say again, which is to-day part and parcel of



a great State whose people have ever been true to the ideas embodied in the declaration of their first organic law, the Ordinance of 1787, that "human liberty, religion, morality and knowledge are essential to good government." I need not say to the members of this Congress, when they come on such a mission as has brought them here, into the midst of a people who have been true to such ideas, that they are welcome; for it goes without the necessity of a statement that such a people must rely implicitly upon Christianity for every good and perfect gift, and must believe, also, as earnestly and thoroughly as any member of this Congress can, in that Christian union which it is your object to promote. By that I do not mean to say that any considerable number of the Christian people of the State of Ohio ever expect to see all denominational lines blended, all churches united in one. Certainly, speaking as a Methodist, I cannot, after the difficulties we have had in our own household, promise very much on that account. But what I mean to say is this: That the Christian people of this State recognize and believe in the fact that, no matter to which one of our several churches we may individually belong, all alike and in common belong to the great cause, and in that sense at least, to the true Church of God. For that reason it is that they especially delight to have this Congress come among them. They believe in the motto which you see spread out before you: "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity." They therefore welcome an organization such as this that has come together, which recognizes in a Christian and a charitable way that there are differences among Christians, in order that we may discuss them, that we may measure the length and breadth of them, and that we may broaden out the ways that are now too narrow for us to walk in, arm in arm together; that we may learn to respect each other, may learn to have charity for each other, and may in that way secure what is proclaimed as the great object of your organization, "the advancement of the Kingdom of God."

Without any longer detaining you, but thanking you again for the honor you have conferred upon me, I once more extend to you a cordial greeting from the great State of Ohio.

## THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

BY REV. HENRY M. LADD, D.D.

The old question whether the world is growing better should be forever set at rest. A positive answer is found among other evidences in this American Congress of Churches. It has sprung into being with a grand hope for the future, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, full grown and full armed, because this more intelligent, this kinder and better age in which we live, demands it. Its reason for being is that it cannot help but be. The fullness of time has come. Our Saviour's prayer, "That they all may be one; that the world may believe," must now be answered. He is blind, indeed, who cannot read the signs of these better times. The dark ages of Christian polemics have passed away, thank God, forever, giving place to this brighter day of Christian charity, and earnest, harmonious Christian work. Rightly to discern these signs of the times, wisely to bend all available Christian forces to a common end, is manifestly the supreme duty of this day and generation. This Congress of Churches is thus the legitimate and necessary product of this more Christian age. Indeed, if anything in this world ever showed unmistakable signs of foreordination it is this latest and best assured attempt to realize that unity for which our Saviour so earnestly prayed.

Happily, we of the city of Cleveland are fully resigned to the Divine will, and bid you a hearty welcome in God's name. The Christian people of this city, we have reason to believe, already know something of that unity of the Spirit which is the bond of peace. Coming to us in this same spirit of a broader charity, a wider sympathy, a larger benevolence, you are indeed thrice welcome. Persuade us all, of every name, that the Kingdom of Christ in the world is really one. We believe that it is not divided. It never has been. Attempted divisions have succeeded only upon the surface; they have never touched the heart. Beneath all forms and under all names redeemed souls have ever recognized each other. The common needs of perishing humanity, a common Saviour, and a common hope, are the ever unbroken strands in the blessed tie that binds. This is no mere outward uniformity

which you represent, but the higher unity in diversity. It is not agreement in doctrine, desirable and important as that may be. It is not enrollment in one grand, universal, mechanical organization, pleasing as the Utopian dream is to some. Yet, above all and through all, the Church of God is one, — one in its heavenly origin, one in its purifying, uplifting mission here upon earth, one in its glorious and everlasting destiny. "There are differences of administrations, but the same Lord." You will find, as you walk through our streets of magnificent distances, a very great variety of architecture, producing even startling contrasts, but no one of you, we hope, will have reason to doubt that you are in the one hospitable city of Cleveland, with all its variety and distance. You do not come to us to set up a standard of uniformity which is neither desirable nor possible. The one family in heaven and earth, like the happy families of our several homes, needs no regimental uniform.

Our chief ecclesiastical differences, moreover, are as divinely ordained as are the different tastes and peculiarities of men. Even if easily attainable, absolute uniformity would for many reasons not be "a consummation devoutly to be wished." Humanity, in its varying needs, would remain unsatisfied. Men are not all alike. They differ as the leaves upon the trees, while the trees themselves differ more widely yet; some soaring loftily up and arching grandly out like the stately, branching elm, or growing thick and close and low like the leafy maple, or standing alone, tall, and solemn, like the funereal poplar. Nature would lose its charm if all the trees were exactly alike. We can not run religious characteristics in a mold and turn out living images of Christ of cast-iron form and likeness. Different denominations have grown to supply differing needs that find their roots in the diversities of human nature. God forbid that men should ever all think exactly alike. The waters of a brook are sweet and pure, because they are in motion, and dash against impeding rocks, and lash themselves into foam and spray. But a pool where there is no disturbance, no agitation, becomes stagnant, and breeds miasma and death. Discussion, interchange of thought, diversity of opinion, prevent intellectual and spiritual stagnation.

We welcome you not the least heartily because of your free, untrammelled platform. Even the storms of doctrinal and secta-

rian controversy that have swept over the Christian world have purified the air. Thought is clarified by contact with opposing thought. Progress in religious truth is the result, and freedom comes by the truth. You are not afraid to sit side by side and look each other in the face, while men of differing thought present this many-sided truth. We are learning better how, by what process, to become fully persuaded in our own minds. Charles V., we are told, learned the mistake of his life when, at the close of his attempts to make twenty millions of people agree in their religious opinions, he tried to make two clocks go exactly alike. This question of Christian unity runs deeper than the surfaces of things. We may be "distinct as the billows, but we must be one as the sea." Upon the surface will ever roll the changing, restless waves of theological beliefs, creeds, and confessions, methods of worship, forms, ritualistic or otherwise, church government, politics or administrations. But underneath all this foam and spray rolls the grand ocean of a Divine unity. "We love Him because He first loved us." The reasons for this billowy sea where ride our little barks are not hard to find. The essential polarity of Divine truth as apprehended by us, the greatness of the matter contained in the revelation, the fact that Christianity is not a theological system, drawn out in logical sequence, and the imperfection of all human language and understanding are, perhaps, some of these reasons. The finite grasps the infinite only in shadowy degrees of clearness. The revealed will of God is something like those great pieces of tapestry work which hang upon the old palace walls of Europe. One, as he approaches, takes a fold in his hand and says, "I see only the head of a horse;" another, "I see the wing of an angel." So with our narrow vision we are apt to see only disjointed portions of God's infinite truth. Only when we stand at the far distance of eternity and look upon this vast truth blended into a harmonious whole, shall we fully comprehend the just relations of one part to another. While, however, we await that day of revelations, when that which is in part shall be done away, the view from these exalted, heavenly places, where in Christian fellowship we sit together here upon earth, may approach that heavenly vision, in that it helps to blend the picture.

This Congress, we trust, is to give us enlarged views, more

comprehensive and truer ideas. For while in the nature of things denominations will abide, the narrow sectarian spirit that has divided and scandalized Christendom, in the language of the day, "must go." The church or denomination that in these days exists as an end in itself rather than as a means to an end will find itself left stranded high and dry upon the shores of time. The churches that are alive to the tremendous issues of this eventful generation, the churches that understand their mission and responsibility, will strike hands together in a common cause. A practical, peaceful, powerful Christian union is found in that of the one spirit shown in the kindly co-working of all the diverse elements of denominational life. If this spiritual unity, this bond of peace, is wanting in the body of Christ, the whole body suffers. The unity that is to face the world and conquer it for Christ must run deeper than creeds, deeper than forms of worship, deeper than methods of government. It must be the pervasive unity of a common spirit and a common life. This is the unity we have opened our hearts and our homes to welcome as so grandly and hopefully set forth in this Congress of Churches. In these days of aggressive skepticism and organized unbelief, when infidelity boasts its clubs, its orators, and its press, we need this unity as never before. Only as you may be able to awaken the followers of Christ to this grand reality, that notwithstanding their external denominational differences, the Church, the real body of Christ, is, after all, only one, with but one God, one Saviour, one Sanctifier, one revealed will, one life, one work, one family in heaven and upon earth, can their Christianity be felt as a power in the world. In such unity, acknowledged, there is the "all-power" and visible presence of Christ himself. Men and women strung together like beads upon the ecclesiastical strings of man's invention will fall apart. There must be the life-current of the ever-living head, the indwelling spirit. He gives the Church a consistency and a strength against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. We hail this true, this growing unity as represented in this notable assembly to-day. Strength and success in aggressive work are in it. A single denominational thread is too weak to draw the chariot of the Lord alone, but twisted with others into a cable it is strong enough to overcome any obstacle. Separate grains of spiritual powder will burn, it is

true, but heaped together they are powerful to lift a mountain of unbelief and cast it into the sea. A single drop of the distilled water of life is pure and cleansing, it is true, but a flood sweeps everything before it. The separate branches of the Lord's great army can never realize their actual strength to fight the common enemy till all these separate parts are brought together and massed upon the sneering foe. The scandal arising from the unchristian way in which these various branches of Christ's Church have heretofore treated each other must be removed before the prayer "Thy kingdom come" can be answered. Forces wasted, talents misspent, time and money thrown away, these never will convert the world to Christ. They are a stumbling-block and a standing reproach. High board fences to mark off the separate beds in your garden are not only unsightly, but they cast a baneful shadow in which nothing grows. Melancthon reminds us that the wolf did not fear the dogs, because the dogs were fighting among themselves.

Your presence and influence here, we hope and pray, will be to quicken anew the fellowship of interest in this community of believers. We hail your coming! We are honored in it, and inspired by it. Help us to sound the alarm in the enemy's camp, rally us all around the blood-stained banner of the cross, lead us forth in a new crusade upon the ranks of sin, simultaneous, cross-exalting, redeeming, and you will not have come in vain. And when you go, leave behind you as your potent benediction some adequate conception of the needs of this great world lying in sin, some noble resolve borne in upon us out of the motives of eternity, some stirring and holy consecration, some noble ambition, some godly enthusiasm aroused, inspired by your eloquent appeals, as prophetic visions arise of what part our new West and old South are to play in the near future of our beloved land, and you will not have come in vain. Give us more practical views of the gospel of Christ; open to our enraptured sight without cloud or film those grand, central, fundamental truths of salvation by grace, which are our unifying hope; help us to live up to this motto, which we have been bold enough to hang upon these walls: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity"; and we shall never forget that you did not come in vain.

While you tarry here a little to share our hospitality, and we,

fully aware of who these angelic messengers are, extend our heartiest welcome, we trust you may find your stay in our beautiful Forest City at least a pleasant one. We have an avenue. It is the pride of our hearts. We trust you will humor our weakness, and say, "It is the finest in the world." All strangers do. If you should forget this you might become suddenly conscious of our *Western Réserve*. But beyond the famous avenue, in our still more delightful Lake View, is a shrine where we all may reverently bow. We need ask no favors here where the whole world has stood and wept in common sympathy. While we are striving after some broader unity of the household of faith, one word alone has proved the world even more than kin, nor less than kind. What proof of world-wide sympathy lingers in his immortal name, the name of our beloved Garfield? As you shall wend your way to where he lies, and stand with uncovered head before his tomb, can you doubt the dawn of a better day whose brightest beams reveal the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God?

Surely, you are here to do your part in hastening the noontide glory of that better day. Stars of varying magnitude are lost to sight in the brightening glory of the morning sun. Daylight is coming on. The stars begin to fade. We are forgetting our differences more and more as we become suffused with the dazzling splendors of the great Sun of Righteousness, who has arisen with healing in his wings. Brethren, you are most of all welcome here as bearing the likeness of our common Father, remembering that we all, as sinners saved by grace, have the same Lord to love and serve, the same battles to fight, the same victories to win, the same heaven to share; with but "one Lord, one faith, one spiritual baptism, one God and Father of us all." As we draw nearer to our common Master, we draw nearer to each other, not in external uniformity, but in the transcending unity of the life-giving and energizing spirit. Learning here to gaze more intently into the shining face of the God-man, we shall all be changed into the same image from glory to glory, until we awake to forget wherein we differ, satisfied only that we awake with His likeness.

## THE FIRST YEAR OF THE CONGRESS.

By REV. JOSEPH ANDERSON, D.D.

On page 10 of the "Proceedings of the Hartford Meeting" of the American Congress of Churches, it is stated that the sessions were held in Allyn Hall on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of May; that "the attendance was large, the audience at times completely filling the hall, and on Tuesday evening crowding it to excess"; and that the various services and discussions were conducted according to the published programme, the regulations which the Council had adopted being rigidly enforced. Thus was recorded, in the simplest and briefest form, the success of a new experiment in the ecclesiastical world. In the "Historical Account" given at the Hartford meeting, reference was made to antecedent movements to which the new enterprise might perhaps be compared — especially to the Evangelical Alliance and to the Congresses of the Episcopal Church in England and America. But the American Congress of Churches was established on a basis very different from that of the Evangelical Alliance, for it was proposed by its founders, instead of thrusting ecclesiastical and theological differences out of sight, as is done in that organization, to bring them into full view, and make them the subject of free discussion. On the other hand, it differed from the Episcopal Church Congress in attempting to bring together not simply the representatives of different types of belief and practice in a single communion, but Christians of every denominational name, and of every shade of Christian belief. This thoroughly modern idea seemed to the originators of the Congress of Churches a very noble one. But the question remained, whether this idea must be left to float as a sun-lit cloud in the realms of sentiment, or could be concentrated into some practical and useful form of life. The Hartford meeting was an answer to that question.

The success of the experiment — if that can be measured by the high intellectual quality, the spiritual tone, and the general excellence of the meeting — was beyond a doubt. A programme of decided interest had been prepared, and notwithstanding a very insufficient advertising, large audiences, as we have seen, were present, and those who came were deeply impressed with



the practical validity of the idea which had thus begun to find embodiment.

A noticeable characteristic of the meeting was the spirit of brotherhood and harmony which pervaded it. Indeed, an amusing anxiety was exhibited by some lest in the free discussion of ecclesiastical differences a breach of the peace might occur, and a sense of relief was felt when the close of the last session was reached without any disaster of this kind having taken place. But, from the point of view of the managers of the meeting, the real occasion of regret, if any existed, was that those who took part in the discussions were so unwilling to make full use of their liberty, so anxious to be propitiatory—because, apparently, they lacked faith in the safety of the free platform which had been provided for them. The sincere conviction of those who organized the meeting was—as they had set it forth—that “Christian union” could be “promoted by free discussion.” They desired that discussion should be free in the fullest sense—the only limitations being those imposed by their published regulations, and by Christian courtesy. If the principle which lies at the basis of the organization should during the present meeting be put to a severer test in this respect than it was a year ago, we shall feel that our aim has come nearer to realization, and shall have no anxiety regarding the consequences. The sooner the entire safety of Christian conference under the broad and free limitations which have been laid down can be vindicated, the better will it be for the progress of our enterprise.

The attitude of the Christian public toward the new movement, as revealed through the press, was almost uniformly friendly; but we were not by any means exempt from criticism. The most important criticisms made at the time of the meeting and afterward may be summed up under two heads: first, that we were too “inclusive”; secondly, that we were not inclusive enough.

As the Congress of Churches originated within those bodies commonly known as evangelical, and was intended chiefly to enlist and bring together members of those bodies, it was doubtless a surprise to some of these, especially to such as were familiar with the principles and methods of the Evangelical Alliance, to find that those known as “Liberal Christians” were embraced in our scheme. It was found that Unitarians, Universalists, and

those usually designated Swedenborgians, were included in our lists of officers and admitted to a share in our discussions; and an earnest protest was entered by some, based on the conviction that there could be no alliance, and no profitable fellowship, between those who believe in the divine sonship of Christ and those who deny it. The special point was made, by one who had himself participated in the discussions at Hartford, that we were not a Congress of Churches, nor on the other hand a congress of Christians simply, but a congress of teachers, and that we were therefore under solemn obligations to allow no expression of opinion to go forth to the world which we did not approve, or regard as evangelically safe. The answer to all such strictures as these is found in a consideration of our objects and methods, as set forth at the beginning. Our published statement of these was carefully worded, and the most cursory reading of it ought to make it apparent that no Christian man, by taking his place on our platform, side by side with other Christian men, however close he may stand to them, commits himself to any opinion or doctrine whatever, except such as he may announce as his own. His responsibility is not a whit greater than that which he assumes when he publishes an article in a magazine, approving or condemning the opinions expressed by some one else in another article. In order to the largest success of the Congress, the purpose of its organizers cannot be too emphatically repeated, which is not to establish a society, or organize a plan of union, or put forth a creed, but simply "by holding public meetings from time to time, to make provision for a full and frank discussion of the great subjects in which the Christians of America are interested, including those ecclesiastical and theological questions upon which Christians differ." It was also distinctly announced, from the first, that however defective the constitution of our "Council" might be, we had "no intention of excluding any church, or of expressing an opinion in regard to the relative value and excellence of any." Unless we assumed the right to make our own definitions of the terms "Christian" and "church," which we could not consistently do, it was inevitable that all who "profess and call themselves Christians" must be included in our plan. Of the members of our Council twenty-two out of the twenty-five belong to "evangelical" bodies. Of our Executive Committee, whose business it is

to make arrangements for the annual public meeting, all the seven are "evangelical." But from their point of view they can discover no sufficient reason for excluding those who, while differing from the rest of us in regard to doctrines which we consider essential, cling nevertheless to the Christian name, and look upon themselves as belonging to the Christian Church.

The other criticism proceeded from a different source, and arose through a misunderstanding. The complaint this time was that we had not included representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, or, as the *Catholic World* expressed it, that "Roman Catholics were left out in the cold." It was natural enough to suppose that the omission of Roman Catholics was a purposed omission, but such was not the case. It is true that no formal effort was made to secure a Roman Catholic representation in our list of officers or on our programme; but it is also true that some weeks before the meeting two members of our executive committee called upon one of the Roman Catholic bishops, with reference to the question of participation, and received from him the opinion that it would not be possible for Catholics to unite with us in such an enterprise as we were engaged in. The published statement of our aims and methods was worded, however, in such a way that Roman Catholics need not feel that they were excluded by any action of ours; and when, in the course of the year, we found that the complaint in reference to their supposed exclusion was shared in by Roman Catholics themselves, we determined that another meeting should not pass without a more definite effort to secure representation from this Church upon our programme. Having decided on the subjects to be discussed, we invited the Bishop of Cleveland to take part in the debate upon one of them — namely, the difficult and disturbing question of the relations of religion to our public schools. Bishop Gilmour's acceptance of our invitation ought not to be credited with an importance which does not belong to it; to his mind there is probably no ecclesiastical significance in it; but to us it is pleasant to receive the assurance from Bishop Gilmour himself: "As one of the Catholic bishops of this country, I have at all times been willing to take part in discussions with those not of my creed when the questions for discussion have concerned the promotion of public, social, or moral good. And as I have done, and am

ever ready to do in this regard, many of my colleagues do when asked."

Of other criticisms which have been made upon the Congress, there are two which perhaps deserve notice in this review of the history of our first year. One of these has reference to the name of our organization. There are some who object to our calling it a Congress of Churches,—insisting that it is simply a congress of Christians. It will interest these friends to know that at one stage of its history the new enterprise came very near receiving the name, "Christian Congress of America." But one of the members of the organizing committee was very desirous that it should be called the "American Church Congress"; and when it was objected that this designation was liable to be confounded with that of the Church Congress of the Episcopalians, another member suggested as a compromise that it be called "The American Congress of Churches." Previous to this, the projected organization had been spoken of as an "inter-denominational" or "inter-ecclesiastical" congress; and to the minds of the committee the new name was simply an equivalent for the earlier and more cumbersome designation. The objection made to the name is based on the fact that the churches are not officially represented. But it must be borne in mind that, whatever the use of the word in the American Constitution may suggest, there is no necessary connection between a "congress" and an official representation by elected delegates. For twenty years the name has been used in the Church of England, and for ten years among American Episcopalians, without having any such idea connected with it. Besides, the word "church" is so ambiguous, or rather, so various, in its meaning that it is easy to use it in the way indicated. To the Presbyterian and Methodist, the Church is a national or provincial organization; to the Congregationalist and the Baptist it is a local body of believers. To all alike, a congress of churches is an assembling of members of these various organizations, who come together of their own free choice, but are nevertheless representatives unofficial, but real, of the bodies to which they belong.

It may be worth while in this review of our first year, to refer to another criticism which has been made in some quarters,—namely, that the Congress is largely in the hands of members of

one communion — the Protestant Episcopal — and is likely to be used by them for securing accessions to their Church. In this connection, there are two things to be acknowledged at once; first, that the American Congress of Churches originated in the mind, or heart, rather, of an Episcopal clergyman; secondly, that Episcopalians, notwithstanding their reputation for exclusiveness, have shown a special interest in our enterprise, having been educated, no doubt, by the Congress of their own Church to a fuller appreciation of such a movement than some other Christian bodies have yet reached. But to say that the Congress of Churches is conducted with reference to building up the Episcopal Church is to commit a curious mistake. In the Council of twenty-five, to which the general management is entrusted, eleven denominations of Christians are represented. The Congregationalists in the Council number five, the Episcopalians number four, and the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists number three each. But on the Executive Committee — the working body of the Congress — all four of the Congregationalists are represented (for local reasons), and only one Episcopalian. So long as the movement flows in its present channels the prospect of making it exclusively tributary to the Episcopal Church is surely very slight; and it may be added with all confidence that its Episcopal friends, whatever their convictions may be in regard to the ultimate form of the Christian Church, would be sorry to have the Congress any less broad and general than it is.

Before leaving this subject reference ought perhaps to be made to the fact that thus far some important Christian bodies, such as the United Brethren in Christ, the Methodist Protestants, the Evangelical Association, and the various Southern churches are not represented in the Council at all, while some of the largest denominations, such as the Lutherans and the Disciples, are represented inadequately so far as numbers are concerned. Whether these inequalities should be remedied by enlarging the Council, is a question which will be considered in due time in a liberal and manly way. For certainly there has never been a more sincere endeavor at equal fellowship than that which this enterprise illustrates and embodies.

An indication of the hold which the Congress has already secured upon the Christian public is furnished in the attention

which has been paid to it by the press. In various prominent newspapers, secular as well as religious, not only were full reports given of the Hartford meeting, but editorials were devoted to the movement, its underlying principles, and its prospects. And, later in the year, elaborate articles appeared in magazines and reviews relating to the Congress, or suggested by the fact of its successful establishment. Specially worthy of mention are the articles in the *Catholic World*, already spoken of, two articles in the *Andover Review*, and a series of papers and letters in the *Century Magazine*, on the subject of Christian and church union. These letters constitute a discussion of a kind which we desire to encourage in our Congress. Leading Presbyterian and Episcopal clergymen participated in it, expressing themselves with the utmost frankness, and at the same time exhibiting a most catholic and hopeful spirit.

But Christian union has not only been made a subject of discussion during the year, it has received some practical illustrations. Among these are the movements toward consolidation in some of the smaller, but by no means unimportant, bodies of Christians which constitute the great American "church." Rumors have been afloat to the effect that a courtship is going on between the Methodist Protestant and the Cumberland Presbyterian Churches. It is well known that the establishment of closer relations between Congregationalists and Free Baptists is being considered; and, meantime, a movement to unite the Free Baptist churches and those of the "Christian Connexion" has culminated (during the present month) in the adoption of a practicable basis of union. While, as a Congress, we have nothing to do with the organizing of plans of union, we cannot but look with interest upon any measures which may be taken by the Christians of America to diminish the number of denominations, and thus increase the working power of the Church.

In this connection it is appropriate that reference should be made to the action taken at the annual Council of the Diocese of Louisiana, on the 6th instant, at New Orleans. Resolutions were presented by a prominent layman, on the "interblending of the evangelical churches into one Christian body," and, after a debate of several hours, a substitute resolution was unanimously adopted, petitioning the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal

Church "to instruct its commission on ecclesiastical relations to abandon the passive policy heretofore followed in respect to those bodies of Christians generally recognized as evangelical, and to send overtures in writing to the governing bodies of the several denominations, inviting them to a conference in the matter of church unity; and further, that the bishops of said commission be authorized and empowered to visit officially, when practicable, the sessions of each of such governing bodies for the like purpose."\*

When we read, in connection with the report of this action, that the Bishop of Louisiana "pledged himself to do all in his power to accomplish the end desired," we are reminded of the attitude of another dignitary of the same Church, recently called to his heavenly reward—Bishop Robertson of Missouri—the loss of whose friendly coöperation in our quiet work as a Congress must be deeply regretted. He wrote, a year ago:

"I am deeply interested in the whole subject as it is coming up, considered, as I am sure it will be, in a broad, gentle spirit, with a fair estimate of all the causes in the past which have produced the present deplorable waste in Christian effort, and with a readiness to judge fairly of all the elements of strength that can be brought from various quarters to increase the success of our efforts in behalf of our dear Lord. I shall watch with the greatest interest the work that you will do. Of course I know that what is first to be sought is not visible result, but such an irenical spirit as shall, in God's good time, make the consideration of definite propositions hopeful. Very faithfully yours in Christ,

"C. F. ROBERTSON."

We cannot bring our review of the year to a close without referring to another token of promise brought to us from beyond the sea. The impression produced by our interdenominational Congress has extended to England, and has resulted in the inauguration of a similar movement there. Early in the present year, a preliminary circular was sent to leading men of the various religious denominations, asking them to take part in a "projected conference, on lines not hitherto planned in England, the nearest

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\* At the conclusion of the reading of this Review of the year, the Secretary of the Executive Committee announced: "A telegram has just been received from Mr. F. F. McGeehee of Bayou Sara, La., the proposer of the resolution on Christian unity in the Council of the Diocesan Convention of Louisiana, in which he says, 'Ill health prevents me from being with you in Cleveland. God bless the Congress of Churches.'"

approach to the idea being the American Congress of Churches, which was held last year at Hartford, Conn." The circular proposed not such Christian conferences as have been held heretofore, "in which temporary unity is secured by excluding controverted subjects," but a "religious parliament of representatives of all the great denominations, to be held in London, for the avowed purpose of a free and amicable comparison of views and opinions hitherto regarded as necessitating sectarian division. It is further proposed that in this conference there shall be the utmost liberty of expression as regards difference of convictions, so far as this is in harmony with the rules of legitimate discussion." This proposal, we are informed, has met with cordial sympathy and a hearty response, and the holding of the parliament is practically assured.

A word or two ought to be added in regard to the programme for the present meeting. The reasons why this meeting was not held at St. Louis, as agreed upon a year ago, need not be entered into just now. Suffice it to say that the invitation to Cleveland was as cordial as could be desired, and we are glad to be here. The topics for discussion were selected, and the vice-presidents were nominated, not at random, nor at the dictation of individual preferences, but in the light of suggestions made in response to a widely circulated letter of inquiry. The only point which calls for explanation is a certain lack of proportion in the representation of different churches among the appointed writers and speakers, in reference to which it must be borne in mind that the responsibility of the Executive Committee is limited by a variety of circumstances. The ideal programme is never fully realized; but so long as modifications result in bringing men to the front who are specialists on the subjects with which their names are connected, we may feel sure that the interests of truth and righteousness will not suffer, however denominational claims may seem to be disregarded. Meantime, it is at least an interesting fact that, in the lists of officers, speakers, and writers for the meeting of 1886, more than twenty denominations of Christians are represented.

We close with a word of good cheer, quoted from the *Catholic World* of last December: "Let the men who take part in the Congress of Churches, and those who sympathize with them —



and there are many more of these than they are aware of — stand unflinchingly firm upon the certain, good ground of theirs, and not yield until, in our generation, their hopes are in the way of realization. This would, indeed, be a worthy blessing upon what is stigmatized by some as ‘our material age.’ Their authority is greater than they think. All sincere and hopeful Christians are one with the movement of this Congress of Churches, wherever they may be, or however called. In our opinion, God’s Spirit is stirring the minds and hearts of the men who compose this movement. Let us hold, and preach too, the gospel of hope.” To this voice from the ancient Roman Church, bidding us God speed, how can Protestant Christians respond, save with a hearty Amen!

## FIRST DISCUSSION.

### TOPIC: A TRUE CHURCH; ITS ESSENTIALS AND CHARACTERISTICS.

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By MR. D. G. PORTER.

I have endeavored to treat the subject of this paper chiefly in regard to its practical aspects; and without entering upon any discussion of the word "church." I have used it according to its common meaning, to indicate the local assemblies of Christians, and also, as occasion required, to indicate the general body of believers, made up of all these assemblies.

A Christian church is composed of Christians. A Christian is one who believes that Jesus is the Christ; that he ought to be Lord over all men; and who has positively and definitely accepted Him as *his* Lord. A true Christian is one who, thus believing and thus accepting, is careful and diligent, according to his opportunity, to know the will of his divine Lord, and earnest and faithful to do it.

We must insist especially upon the first of these qualifications, for the whole result depends upon it. Unless a Christian is careful and earnest to know the will of his Lord, he cannot be a faithful servant. Yet this is the element most often neglected, and the neglect of it is the weak point of many Christian lives. The man who delivers up his conscience to the keeping of a priest, whether Protestant or Catholic, and endeavors to send a large share of his moral responsibility along with it, is not a true Christian, and can never, by such a course, reach the stature of a true Christian manhood.

If he puts a denomination in place of the priest, his case is no better, for the denomination has even less responsibility than the priest. A man then who is a Baptist, or Congregationalist, or Presbyterian, or Episcopalian simply because his father and

grandfather were so before him cannot be called a true Christian in any emphatic sense. A true Christian with the word of God in his hand and the spirit of God in his heart, will take nothing at second hand, and will take nothing for granted of which there is reasonable doubt. In the present condition of the Church especially, he will be mindful of the injunction of the apostle to *prove all things*, holding fast the good — an injunction, it may be observed, which was addressed not to ministers and theologians, but to ordinary church members.

It is my duty to speak of true churches rather than of true Christians. But without true Christians there cannot be a true church. We need not say that all the members of a true church must necessarily be true Christians. There are and must be weak and imperfect Christians in every church. There may even be false Christians in a true church. It is only necessary that a controlling number of the members be true Christians, careful to know and faithful to do the will of God in all things, as much, of course, in matters of church organization and action as in matters of individual duty.

It is not even necessary that this controlling number should be a majority of the membership of the church. It may be a decided minority, consisting of those who are able to determine the course and character of the church by the excellence of their Christian attainment and the faithful devotion of their Christian lives, and who constantly strive to bring their brother members up to their own standard. It is, however, necessary that this controlling number should not consist exclusively of a clerical order assuming to indicate duty and truth for all the rest, and to whom the members may hand over so large a share of their moral responsibility as to be hopelessly dwarfed themselves.

A true church then, is one which, following the lead of true Christians in its membership, earnestly strives to know and to do the will of its divine Head. Such a church may fairly be called a true church, because it does all its present duty, and will do all other and future duty as it may be revealed. It will make no ill-considered changes in its course of action or its ecclesiastical polity, but will prove all things, and hold fast the good. A true church, however, will not always move in a denominational rut. Believing "that yet more light may break forth out of God's

sacred word," it will not forestall the possibility of changing or advancing its position by committing itself irrevocably to anything except the Lord and his truth.

In the circumstances of the present time, I know of no way to define a true church, except to say that it is one which as a body is earnestly anxious to know and to do the will of its divine Head. If I should attempt to define the Church according to some scheme of ecclesiastical polity, I could not bring clear and unquestionable proof for any position I might assume, and in any case there would always be a majority against me of those who hold to the principles of rival organizations.

But according to the definition I have given, a true church may exist under any form of ecclesiastical polity prevalent among Protestant Christians. Its quality of fidelity to the Lord will not be vitiated by the fact that weak or false Christians are numbered with its membership, provided they are not allowed to control its action, nor by the fact that those are counted as members who are not, and, in the nature of the case, cannot really be members.

Thus far I seem to myself to be tolerably sure of my ground, and I do not anticipate serious contradiction in anything I have yet advanced. Let us see whether we may not safely go farther, and indicate, I will not say the true polity, but rather the fundamental principles which should determine the constitution of the Church and the principles which will largely determine the action of any Christian body which is careful to know the will of the Lord and do it.

We find that the Lord himself laid the foundations of his Church in two great ordinances, whose obligation and authority are acknowledged by all Christians. By baptism the Church is created, and by the Lord's Supper its stated assemblies are assured. By these two ordinances believers are built upon and maintained upon Him who is the sole and ultimate foundation; so that if there were nothing to form the Church but these two institutions established by the Lord himself, its existence and permanence would be assured. Go, preach, baptize; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: Do this in remembrance of me; for as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show the Lord's death till he come, are the Lord's own words; and so long as they are obeyed the Church is sure to exist. Baptism and the

Supper then are not sacraments in the sense that they are instruments or means of grace to be used by the Church or its ministry according to its judgment or inclination. They are rather fundamental in the constitution of the Church. Without them, the Christian Church cannot exist, never did exist, and given these two institutions as the Lord established them, its existence and permanence are sure. A kingdom is constituted when the people of a country take the oath of allegiance to any fit person as their king. The Church was constituted when believers formally assumed their allegiance to Jesus as Lord and Christ by being baptized in his name; and in the Supper the obligation was constantly acknowledged, and the relation maintained. If then these two institutions are maintained as the Lord established them, the Church exists and abides by reason of them, and the conclusion would seem to be inevitable that these two ordinances are fundamental in its constitution.

One possible question only remains. Did the Lord put an order of ministry back of the ordinances having control over them, so that only they or those expressly commissioned by them could administer them forever? We could believe this only upon proof. The Lord does not require, nay, does not allow us to accept authority in the Church without positive proof. The authority of Christ himself was proved by the miracles he wrought and by the fact that God raised him from the dead. The apostles proved their authority by mighty works wrought in His name, so that Paul could say, The signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience. If then there is authority in the Church, authority over these great ordinances, we shall expect that in one way or another it will be clearly proved.

But the proof seems to be on the other side. The ordinances in their very nature would seem to be independent of official character in the administrator. Baptism was the necessary concomitant of preaching. Go, preach and baptize, is the injunction of the commission. The burden of the preaching was, Jesus is the Christ. God hath raised him from the dead and exalted him to be a Prince and a Saviour. To those who believed and were willing to accept Him as *their* Prince and Saviour, the opportunity was given at once, and they were urged to accept it at once. There could then in the nature of the case be no room for

obstructive formalities. Baptism *must accompany preaching*, and always did, in the apostolic dispensation of Christianity; and whoever could preach could baptize. The whole church at Jerusalem was scattered abroad by persecution except the apostles, and they went everywhere preaching the word, and of course baptizing; and there is no hint in the sacred record of any qualification beyond discipleship being necessary to perform the office. In far-away Damascus, where no apostle had ever been, "a certain disciple named Ananias" was found to baptize Paul, or to provide for his baptism. Peter did not baptize the household of Cornelius, but "commanded them to be baptized," saying, Can any man forbid water? So we are forced to conclude that ordinances and not orders are fundamental, not to say final, in the constitution of the Church, and that all further question relates not to constitution, but to organization.

But the question here arises, Can there be a true church where the ordinances are not truly and rightfully administered? Can there be a true church without a true baptism? I do not propose to answer this question further than to say that the difference between a Church in which baptism is administered in its original form, and according to its original purpose, and a Church in which the diverse baptisms of the present day prevail, is very largely the difference between a united and a divided Church; and if a divided Church can be true, then the Church of the present day, with its baptisms diverse in form, subject, purpose, and significance, may so far forth be called a true Church.

And while I believe that the churches would have shown their wisdom by holding these great fundamental institutions just as the Lord established them, so as to leave no room and make no occasion for doubt in a matter of such great importance; yet, according to the definition I have given, and to which I faithfully adhere, churches practicing either of these diverse baptisms may be true churches, really desirous to know and to do the will of the Lord in all things. But we are not therefore at liberty to conclude that such churches will always remain in their present positions, or that they can always be true churches if they do so remain. This diversity of baptisms is a matter of the most serious regret. If there be division in the act which constitutes the Church, how can there be agreement between the churches thus

constituted? Differences concerning baptism are among the most serious of those which divide the churches to-day, and are the most obstinately divisive in their effects. And I can think of nothing which would promise so much for the unity and prosperity of the Church as a thorough and unprejudiced reinvestigation of the whole subject of baptism, by Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists alike, if such an unprejudiced reinvestigation were conceivable or possible.

But a true church constituted and established by ordinances is not yet organized for effective work. It is concerning this question of organization that the chief differences of opinion with regard to my subject have arisen. I do not propose to enter into any of these disputes. I might not be able to settle the question between three orders of the ministry and two, nor the question of the proper and orthodox relation of one local assembly to another. Being only a layman I prefer to keep on ground that seems perfectly safe. I shall therefore inquire, What are the functions of the Church? What is the work which her Lord has given her to do? Here, at least, I believe there can be no disagreement. And I shall venture to affirm that the church which faithfully accomplishes the work assigned her by the Lord is a true church; while the church which, however perfect its organization, fails to accomplish this work must at least rank second to the one that does.

The functions of the Church are clearly defined in the New Testament. First, she must provide for the preaching of the gospel to those who are outside of her own limits. The qualification "to those who are outside of her own limits," is, of course, superfluous for all who understand the true meaning of the word "preach." The gospel cannot, at least need not, be preached to the members of a church. They have already heard and obeyed. It is not preaching unless the message of the gospel and the proclamation of the truth is carried to those who are outside of the church. The prevailing method now is for a pastor who is pastor and preacher all in one, and generally also the sole pastor and preacher whom the church sustains, to go into a church building and expect the people outside to come there to hear him preach. The people do not come. We might have known they would not. What is there, indeed, to make them come? They

are not church members, and have no interest in the church. They are separated from the membership both spiritually and socially. Most of them are so far separate that they would feel uncomfortable in our finely furnished churches and in company with well-dressed church members. Only a small portion of these outside populations can by any means be induced to come to the churches to hear the gospel message. And one of the burning questions of the time is how to "reach" these outside populations? In my opinion the Church has already done too much of this reaching. She sits still and reaches, or attempts to reach. She will find that she needs not only to reach, but to arise and go forth. She must *carry* the message to those who will not come to hear it. That is the only way to preach the gospel according to the true sense of the terms; the only way indeed to preach effectively. It need not be done necessarily in set discourse, to a crowd gathered in the streets, or on the commons. The message should rather be taken by quiet, conversational methods to the houses, to the fields, to the shops, the streets, the markets, in a word, wherever the people are, and every day in the week. When we are told that the church at Jerusalem, all except the apostles, being scattered by persecution went everywhere preaching the word, we are not to understand that all these believers went about making harangues. Personal influence is always greatest when the gospel is preached by conversational methods, and the obstacles to a prompt acceptance of the message are generally least. At any rate, this is the only way in which the gospel can be effectively preached to a large proportion of the inhabitants of this country who are now out of Christ.

Now, what church is there which is giving its best endeavors and its best talent to this work? I do not know. But this being the primary and most important work of Christ in the world, I cannot call that a true church which, having the opportunity, does not faithfully endeavor to perform it. I suspect there are many churches in the land which must devise better and more effective methods of evangelization and pursue them more faithfully before they can justly claim to be true churches of Christ. And I may add my opinion that the work of evangelization can never be satisfactorily successful until baptism is restored to its original place



and use. Evangelization without baptism, after the methods of most modern evangelists, is always at a disadvantage, and is often, by reason of this very defect, utterly fruitless of permanent result. The gospel of common sense and straightforward, rational methods is vastly more easy to be understood and accepted by the people than what might be termed, in contrast, a gospel of metaphysics.

The inquirer is told that he may be saved without doing anything at all, simply by an effort of faith, and sitting just where he is. He is expected to lay hold on Christ, as it were abstractly and metaphysically, and yet so surely and really as to satisfy his disturbed feelings. He finds it no easy task. There is such an intense subjectivity involved in the problem that it is almost incomprehensible to the common mind. And the difficulty remains notwithstanding all the ingenuity of explanation which has been lavished upon it. It is represented as almost the simplest and easiest thing possible, yet in practice it proves to be almost the hardest and most uncertain. And the difficulty, which, in many cases, is purely a metaphysical or psychological one, is, of course, charged over to the perversity of the carnal mind. It is doubtless a better explanation to say that this difficulty has arisen because preaching and baptism, which God joined together, have been put so far asunder by men. At any rate, there is a difficulty, serious and almost universal, where there is no hint or trace of any in the apostolic dispensation of Christianity. But, whatever may be the explanation of the fact, I believe the churches of this country fail of their proper mission more in regard to the work of evangelization than in any other respect. Let us hope that the true churches of the future will be characterized by scriptural, rational, and successful methods of evangelization.

But the Church has other functions to perform scarcely less important than the work of evangelization. If she is successful in her evangelical efforts, and wherever she is successful, a most important duty devolves on her in the care of her members, especially her new members. Many of these will be from the ranks of the undisciplined, ignorant, and vicious, including some who have been the victims of evil habits. To keep these in the course of consistent Christian life is no easy task. They will need the assistance, advice, and admonition of brotherly and paternal supervision more than they will find in the gatherings of the church.

Very many of them will not manifest the grace of perseverance unless assisted by the church in the early portions of their Christian life. This care can be effectively ministered only through pastors, elders, or bishops, in the New Testament sense of those terms. When evangelical effort is fairly successful, it is utterly impossible that the needful supervision should be exercised by the man who alone attempts to be pastor, teacher, and preacher, all in one, for a large community. An efficient system of pastoral supervision will be one of the characteristics of the true churches of the future.

A system of learning and teaching, such as will interest the whole membership of the church, we may expect will be another feature. There must be teachers, as well as pastors — teachers not merely for the children, but men competent for the work of instruction in the general assemblies of the church. Now the pastor is the teacher, and his teaching would doubtless generally be sufficient. But it is given in such form that the people do not receive and treasure it. They have not conceived the idea that learning is any part of their business; they expect, rather, to be entertained. Theology, they think, is for ministers, and a very dry subject for other people. They are bored by a didactic sermon. Much more might doubtless be done than is done at present by what is termed expository preaching directly from the Bible, the people also being encouraged to have their Bibles in their hands. But I think we may consider it settled that the people, as a whole, will never be greatly interested in instruction ministered to them in set discourse, as if they were theological students, with note-books in their hands, and never will profit largely by such instruction. It is a remarkable fact that Christians, intelligent in everything else, are lamentably ignorant in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, notwithstanding all the excellent sermons they have heard, and are little interested in the subjects involved. To interest the people in the subjects of religious knowledge, and to teach them successfully, it would seem that there must be special meetings for the purpose, with the opportunity of question and response, as in the early churches, and perhaps also of the expression of differences of opinion, maintaining only the principle of loyalty to the word of God. It is to be hoped, at least, that some system of learning and teaching by

which large numbers of the members will become intelligent in the subjects of religious knowledge, and find therein a principal source of interest and delight, will be one of the characteristics of the true churches of the future.

But a more important duty of the Church than that of teaching is to provide for her social worship. I wonder what Paul would think of the average prayer-meeting of modern times; or what kind of a letter he would write to a church in which such a prayer-meeting is the ideal or the habit of social worship.

I do not propose to consider the question which has so long been a standing question in most of our churches, namely, — how to make the prayer-meeting a success; for I have serious doubts whether anything properly called a prayer meeting can ever be made a success as a regular service. Important elements seem to be lacking to it which would be necessary to call forth and voice the worship of the Church.

Among these I may mention the element of prophecy, so prominent in the assemblies of the early churches, and which Paul regarded as the most important of all the gifts for edification and comfort. Prophecy was not generally foretelling, and it was not teaching. It was rather the utterance of faith, as men of high spirituality, who dwelt as in the presence of God, were enabled to see his ways among the nations, and to interpret the dealings of his providence for the comfort of his people. It does not, then, necessarily presuppose the possession of supernatural gifts beyond the reach of Christians of the present time. The least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John the Baptist; and it is, I think, at least fairly conceivable that this element of the ancient social worship, so far as it is the product of a clear faith and a high spirituality, should find a counterpart, or be in some measure restored in our modern worship, where it would help to counteract the materialism and the so-called scientific infidelity of our time. As it is, we may certainly say with the Psalmist, Our signs we see not, neither is there a prophet any more. But I wish by this illustration and suggestion simply to emphasize the fact that a social worship of some kind, in which believers may constantly find edification and strength, ought to be one of the characteristics of a true church.

While, therefore, I hold that any local assembly of Christians,

under any form of organization, which is really and earnestly anxious to know the will of the Lord and to do it, may fairly be called a true church, yet I believe that in the clearer knowledge and higher attainment of the future, a true baptism and a faithful observance of the Lord's supper must be regarded as among the essentials of such a church, since they are fundamental in its very constitution, and that a rational and scriptural system of evangelization, by which the gospel shall be carried to those who do not come to the churches to hear it, an efficient pastoral supervision, including, of course, the care of the poor, a system of learning and teaching by which Christians shall become intelligent in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, and a social worship in which all believers may find edification, comfort, and strength, will be among the characteristics of the true churches of that happier time.

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PAPER BY REV. LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON, D. D.

It was one reason why I hesitated, and at first declined, to present to the Congress a paper on this topic, that I was conscious of holding views so unusual and peculiar that the statement of them would find itself quite out of the current of discussion, and so be a hindrance rather than a help to any unity and definiteness of result. And since, yielding to not unwelcome urgencies and assurances of welcome, I am here, nevertheless, I make bold to plead my own disqualifications as a title to special attention on your part, without which I have small hope of being understood. For you will have to keep in mind that in treating the proposed theme, I use the word *church* in the true, primitive, and New Testament sense, which I conceive to be wholly different from any one of the senses in which the word is current in American speech.

The two commonest conceptions of the church among American Christians may be characterized as the *Congregationalist* view, and the *Sectarian* view — both of them radically unscriptural and false.

1. The Congregationalist view holds that a church is a company of believers gathered out of the Christian community by voluntary association, and organized for worship and for other Christian duty. This view finds in every community of Christians as many churches as there are organized associations of this kind, and holds that every such congregation is an independent unit of sovereignty, owing duties of comity, courtesy, and fellowship to the rest, doubtless, but each in itself a complete church. Seeking its warrant in the Scriptures, it plants itself with immense strength on the undeniable, constant usage of the New Testament, which never speaks of "the church" of a province, no matter how small the province may be, but always of "the churches." Little Achaia had no institution called "the church of Achaia"; but it had churches; and so with Galatia. The little patch of Asia Minor, which is the New Testament Asia, had certainly more than seven churches, but no "church of Asia." Corinth had its own church; and the harbor town of Corinth, Cenchreae, nine miles distant, had its own church, too. The point seems inexpugnably taken against those who would hold that the church is a provincial organization stretching over a considerable region and embracing many towns. But while holding this point so clearly, the adherents of this theory have resolutely blinked another point which is just as clear and constant, to wit: that the Scriptures, which never speak of *the church* of any province, equally refrain from speaking of *the churches* of a town. The Christians of a town multiply by thousands; they are disturbed by mutual alienations and serious variations in opinion, and strong personal attachments to different leaders; but they are always *one church* in that town; and if a division seems to impend, the apostle deprecates it with horror, saying, "I beseech you by the mercies of God, don't divide." All which is very unlike Congregationalism.

2. But it is still more unlike the alternative theory of *Sectarianism*; which holds not only that the Christian population of any town may properly be split up into different parties without common organization, but also that each one of these parties, entering into confederation with a like party in other communities, becomes thus a constituent part of a church — not of the town church where it exists, but of a sect of Christians extended over a nation or a continent. For this national party of Christians it calls by

the name *Church*; though it is as far removed from anything known by that name in the New Testament as can well be imagined. In the dialect of the New Testament there are names distinctly applied to the sort of organization which we commonly call by the name of church. It is spoken of there as *σχίσμα* or *αἵρεσις*. We shall inevitably go astray in all our reasonings on this subject unless we bear in mind that the prevalent American use of the word *church* (as indicated, for instance, in the title of this assembly), is one unknown to the Scriptures. Using words in their apostolic and primitive sense, we should more properly speak of ourselves as a Congress of Schisms, or of Heresies.

And it is well to remark, in passing, that this misnomer is not in the least justified by the fact that some one or other of these schisms is disposed to insist with somewhat obtrusive emphasis on the undeniable fact that the others are not churches. Of course they are not churches — any of them. A party of Christians is not the church, any more than a party of citizens is the state — any more than the part of anything is the whole of it.

3. And let me, in one more word, note a caution against one other misconception of the church, which I suspect to be prevalent — that the church of Christ is the sum of existing so-called churches, schisms, or (according to a favorite American euphemism) “denominations.” According to the New Testament conception, the church is made up of the Christian people, not of Christian parties. It is “the communion of saints” — not a congregation of a selection of the saints. It is “the communion of saints,” not the confederation of sects. The kingdom of Christ is the commonwealth of all humble and holy souls. His reign is within them.

Setting aside, thus, three untenable conceptions: (1) that a church is a club of Christians formed on some principle of selection out of a Christian community; (2) that a church is a sect of Christians constituted over a large region by the federation of such local clubs; (3) that the church is the totality of sects; — setting these aside, I propose this as the true conception, that the church of any place is the whole commonwealth of the Christian people of that place. There have been many “notes of the church” — proposed by Christians of various parties, — form of government, pedigree of ordination, purity of doctrine, universality

of extent, — always with a view to this: that the application of them shall prove each man's party to be the only church, and shall leave the other parties outside of it. But it is not difficult in reading the Acts and letters of the Apostles to recognize this as the one trait of the church as they understood it, that it was the fellowship of all the Christians.

Now while I acknowledge most painful defects in the organization of our modern, and especially our American Christianity, and while I look with earnest hope, not unmixed with anxiety, at the many movements, of which this of the Congress of Churches is the foremost, toward a better state of things, let it not be thought too uncongenial to the sentiments and aspirations of this occasion, if I confess a lack of complete and unreserved sympathy with lamentations that are often heard over the lost unity of the church, and with longings after a restoration of unity. For I cannot bring myself to account of the unity of Christ's church as of a thing that used to be, or a thing that ought to be attained in the future; but as a thing that *is* — *is now*, as it was in the beginning and ever shall be. The religious affections of my heart fail to lay hold with any satisfaction on some fragment of a church which used to be one, and hopes to be one again. But I recognize and love, through all the ages and in every land, One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, the fellowship of all saints.

And that which I acknowledge and love as I look abroad over the great scope of the world and of history, I do not fail to find when I look about me in whatever place I find my work appointed — the one church, the commonwealth of believers. To the service of this, and not of any fraction of it, however pure in doctrine, however scriptural or historical in ritual, however correct in form of organization, however imposing by the magnificence of its extension — to the service of the whole fellowship of believers in the town in which I serve, I am devoted by the consecration that makes me the minister of Christ.

I am quite ready for that impatient interruption complaining that all this is quite out of time and place — that whatever may once have been true, and whatever may even now be true in some communities, in the American city of the nineteenth century, in Cleveland, for instance, the church is no longer one, but is

divided. Divided? Yes, indeed. That which the Apostle Paul deprecated with earnest entreaty, adjuring the Christians of Corinth by the mercies of God that it should not be, has befallen us, that "there are divisions among us." Doubtless the Church of Christ in Cleveland is divided; but it is a divided unit — it is not many units. It is a divided church — it is not many churches, even though in our debased modern dialect we may combine to call it so. The one Church of Christ in Cleveland does not need to be created. That one church which has been here since the day when my missionary grandfather tramped through the wintry woods to gather in Christian worship on the border-line a scanty company of disciples out of the two feeble settlements of Cleveland and Euclid, is here to-day; it needs, not to be *created*, but to be *recognized*, and to be *manifested* to the world.

It needs to be *recognized* by its own members and ministers. It does not now offer itself to observation in any corporate form. It has no chief officer, the visible center of unity; no organized council or presbytery consulting for its united interest; no constitution or laws except the word of its Lord in the New Testament; but, men and brethren, you who believe in the Holy Ghost, do you doubt — can you doubt, so long as they who pass from death to life are known by this that they love the brethren, — that here in Cleveland the Church of Christ, one and indivisible, is a most solid reality? — the Church that is in Cleveland, with its cementing power of mutual love, so sadly hindered by ignorances and misconceptions, and by the miserable divisive spirit of sectarian allegiance; with its common zeal for its one Lord now wretchedly squandered in wasteful competitions; with its craving needs and duties, so often forgotten by its ministers in their exorbitant sense of duty to a narrow parish or congregation? Must you needs *see* this one Church of Christ before you can believe? Have you no sense of paramount loyalty and duty to the whole body of Christ's disciples here, but only a little gush of sentiment when you have given the devotion of your heart and the strength of your manhood to the supreme service of the party of Christians whose fortunes you are pushing with the spirit of a base-ball game, as if the "emulations" which Paul condemns as works of the flesh were the very fruits of the Holy Spirit.

And just because I have small respect for that love for the one



church which expends itself wholly in sentimental words, I bring the matter down to a most practical illustration:

The season is approaching when we are about to renew the annual reproach of the American Church. In city after city, town after town, as the season of discomfort, danger, and sickness comes on, the Christian ministers, with the honorable exception of one great communion, and with certain individual exceptions beside, will, as a body, simultaneously forsake their charge, and leave the city deserted of its resident pastors. And each man speaking for himself will say, and say truly, that he leaves with the consent of his congregation, and that so far as his congregation is concerned this is the best time for him to take his needful rest. And no man will consider that each man is member of a college of clergy having charge of the common interests of the church of the whole town. If once the individual minister should learn to recognize in his own heart that the one church of the one Lord in his town was a most solemn reality, and that he was not only the one pastor of his little fold of the flock, but also one of the company of the pastors of the whole flock, this annual scandal would at once begin to be abated.

This point simply by way of illustration of what might follow from the mere recognition in each man's heart and conscience of the doctrine of the Scriptures concerning the unity of believers, and the solid spiritual fact that they not only ought to be one, but are one.

And when I have said that the unity of the town church ought to be recognized by its ministers and members, I need hardly add that it ought to be *manifested* to the world. Being acknowledged in the individual mind and conscience, it certainly would be manifested, and that would be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord from heaven, that the believers should be one, that the world might know that the Father had sent the Son. Whether that would come to pass which certainly did come to pass in the primeval history of the church, that the town church should be represented by the town bishop at the head of the town clergy, — this might be — or might not be. But somehow or other the one church would find its voice, to which the world would love to listen.

Even now, he that hath ears to hear may hear what the Bride saith as well as what the Spirit saith. Every Christian town **has**

its speaking monuments not only of the "competitive Christianity" which divides us, but of the common Christianity in which we unite. Every office of charity organization is a head-quarters of the one church; and every individual charity from which is wholly eliminated the leaven of partizanship, so that, undertaken in the common love of Christ, and aiming at the common good of all for whom Christ died, it delights in putting glory on Christ himself and his whole church, is a work of the one church.

For the manifestation of the one church of their town, how good a work could be wrought by any two or three Christian men, who in a spirit wholly purified from partizanship should simply publish from year to year, with growing completeness, the Year-Book of the Church of Christ in Cleveland, which should exhibit in love and holy pride and exultation the things which each year are wrought here, through these divided congregations and these sharply competing sects, in the name of God's holy Child, Jesus! Such a record, without one word of comment, would itself be a potent testimony to the general conscience, for Christ and His Church.

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SPEECH BY REV. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D.D.

Ten minutes will not accomplish very much on such a wide subject as this. I am a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church, — a "High Churchman" — about as high as they make them. I belong to that party of Churchmen who are generally supposed to be the most exclusive and the most bigoted.

I want to state to you now what some of us are willing to give up in order to secure unity. We all know that the difficulty about securing unity is that, being divided into a number of bodies, each with its own pet ways, no one of us likes to give them up. And as long as we hang on to that feeling, how can we have unity? I want to tell you, as a bigoted, narrow, exclu-

sive High Churchman, what we are willing to give up. I will speak not only for myself, but for a very large number of Churchmen. They may not yet be the majority, but I think they will be in a few years. We are willing to give up, as barriers in the way of unity, any and every thing that is peculiar to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America! [Applause.] I must explain to you what I mean by that, and perhaps you will not clap so loudly. I mean exactly what I say, — that what is peculiar to us as the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America we are willing to give up. In the first place, there is our name, "Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America"! We are ready to give it up at once. You may search the New Testament, and search all Christian antiquity, and you will not find any thing about a "Protestant Episcopal Church." We are willing to give that up. And so I might specify a number of other things.

But you may say, "What about the Apostolic Succession?" Oh, my dear friends, that is not ours. We did not invent that; we have not the peculiar possession of that. That belongs to the great body of Christendom, and has belonged to it from the beginning. It does not belong to us. We cannot give it up. We dare not give it up. I will tell you why. We are trustees of that great gift of the Church from the beginning. We are trustees of that great gift, for the benefit of all the rest of you, and that is the reason we hold on to it.

Then you will say, "But what about Confirmation?" Well, we did not start that. That is not peculiar to us. You will find out about it in the New Testament, and you will find it in every part of the Apostolic Church from the beginning down to the present day. It is nothing peculiar to us. And so I might go on. Whatever belongs to the ancient Church from the beginning does not belong exclusively to us. Suppose a stockholder in a stock company undertakes to give away all the property of the company. He says he is a stockholder and has a right to give it away. What do you call him? You call him a thief. So he is. He has no right to give away what belongs to other people as well as to himself. And how is it possible that we should have the right to give away anything that belongs to the heritage of the grand old Church from the beginning?

Now, you understand what I meant when I said I would give away everything that is peculiar to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. But what belongs to the ancient Church of God we will never give up, so help us God!

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SPEECH BY REV. FRANK M. CLENDENIN.

In the communion in which I have the honor of being a member, it is our daily privilege to pray for "all who profess and call themselves Christians," — that they "may hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." We are not unmindful that a vast part of those for whom we pray are, as far as human sight can see, sadly and hopelessly divided from us and from each other. The different beliefs which so sadly divide Christendom are essential or non-essential to "the faith once delivered to the saints." If an article of belief which divides us is a non-essential, then the body of Christ is divided for that which is not necessary to salvation, and the faith of man is strained with a burden grievous to be borne. If the article is in the man's mind an essential to the faith, no one can demand that he forsake that article of his belief. Feeling assured you will acknowledge that there is much justice in such a statement, I beg leave to name a few of what we deem essentials of a true church, asking the patience of your kind attention.

The first characteristic that should mark a true church is that she reverence and show forth in her life the famous saying, "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." This does not mean that we are to look with equal love upon all the divergent beliefs with which the world has been flooded. A great deal of the much-lauded charity of these times is a pseudo-charity, a charity which is not liberty but license; a charity which covers a multitude of sins. When the body of Christ is vilified by infidelity, buried by one party and torn into

fragments by another, no true man should be silent, lest the very stones cry out against him. "Faith, hope, and charity, — the greatest of these is charity;" but no charity since the world began ever made right wrong or wrong right.

God give us, give us soon, in essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity, — in the right sense of these noble words; but God save us from the wrong sense of such mighty words!

Another essential of a true church is that it be a church, not a club, nor a literary coterie, not a mutual admiration society, nor an amalgamation of congenial thinkers, not a class for ethical development, where the first verse of Genesis is translated, "Primevally, chaos evolved protoplasm, and protoplasm was without culture and a school of philosophy." The church, according to Holy Scriptures, is the body of Christ. He is the head, and the body is his bride. A true church, then, is a church which has the power to do what his human body did, — feed the hungry, clothe the naked, preach the gospel to the poor, heal the sick, forgive the penitent, and raise the dead. Any body that has not the power to do this is not a church, let men call it by what name they please.

Another vital essential to a true church is that it be "the church." "The church," though some men dislike it, is, as you know, a Biblical expression; for God's word is but the history of the church, a revelation of the coming church. Never a word in all its pages about the Methodist or the Presbyterian or the Protestant Episcopal Church; never a word about "my" church, or even "our" church, but only "the church," which is one family in heaven and on earth. When a man was to be reproved the blessed Lord said, "Tell it" — not to the Wesleyans, nor to the Lutherans, nor to the Presbyterians, nor to the Episcopalians, but "tell it to 'the church'; and if he refuse to hear the church, let him be unto you as a heathen man and a publican." And St. Paul said — not Calvinism, nor Arminianism, nor any other "ism," but, "the church of God, which he purchased with his own blood." The last forty days the Divine One spent upon earth were passed, it is written, in "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." To say that "the kingdom of God" and "the kingdom of heaven" — terms so often used by the blessed Lord — refer

simply to the church invisible, is impossible; for such parables as those of the fishes, the wheat and the tares, plainly show that in this kingdom of heaven is found the evil with the good; but no body of respectable men ever yet has held that the church at rest or triumphant is to be defiled with evil. The last forty days, then (and surely there have been none in history more solemn), were spent in speaking of the earthly church. What is true of the Bible is true of history. History, for fifteen hundred years, knows of none other than the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. It follows, then, either that there was no church for fifteen centuries, and that the gates of hell had prevailed against it, or that "the church" of history was "the church" of Holy Scripture.

Time will allow me to mention but one other essential of the true church, and that is, the rule of interpreting the word of God as it was received by the general councils of the undivided church, or that other great canon: "That only is of the faith, *de fide*, which has been received everywhere, by all, from the beginning, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod omnibus*." Those who have taught that every man should read his own Bible, and decide for himself what is "the faith once delivered to the saints," have sealed the doom of their organizations by the execution of their own principles. Men followed their advice, and came to over ten thousand different conclusions. It was not man but God who said, "A house divided against itself must fall." History bears awful witness to the truth of these words. Arianism was one of the most powerful bodies that ever crossed the face of the world. It numbered in its ranks the learning and greatness of the day; it gained the flower and chivalry of its time; it was sustained by every civil and political influence; whom it would it slew, and whom it would it let alone; but after its few hundred years of existence, it passed into the shadows, and shrunk from the sight and the memory of man. Just as surely and as truly will every other communion pass from the glory of this world and the glory of the world to come, if it be not a part of the visible church, which the Lord himself founded upon this earth. Remember, please, that I am speaking of human organizations, not of men who make up these organizations. It is true that there are many Protestants of whom I must say, as Whitefield said of Wesley, "I shall not see

him in heaven, because he will be so near the throne of God, and I so far away"; but the human societies which such men have formed shall fail and vanish. It matters not whether it be Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism, or Protestant Episcopalianism, if it be not a part of the visible church which Christ founded upon the earth, it will fall and pass away. The Catholic Church of Scripture and of history, holding fast the faith once delivered to the saints, — that, that alone, will stand, and prevail against the very "gates of hell."

## SECOND DISCUSSION.

### TOPIC: RELIGION AND OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

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PAPER BY PRES. D. S. STEPHENS, D. D.

The state has undertaken the work of education. It has assumed this task on the ground that the interests of the community are identified with good citizenship, and that good citizenship is dependent upon education. Having undertaken this work, the same reason that justified the state in entering upon it at all will require that it be prosecuted thoroughly in every direction in which it can be shown that education bears on the development of those qualities essential to the good citizen.

Now, those qualities in the individual on which the welfare of the community is most dependent relate to conduct. That kind of conduct which is essential to the health of the state, and which most promotes its welfare, is conduct which is regulated in the light of those principles of equity and justice upon which the laws of the state are founded. There are two tap-roots that give nourishment to that kind of conduct essential to the well being of the state. One is intelligence, the other is right disposition, — the reflective and the active powers, respectively. That kind of individual action in which the community is concerned springs, on the one hand, from an enlightened intellect that comprehends its relations to the common good, and on the other, from a well-disposed will, that acts in the direction of the discerned good. Not only must the mind be furnished with that knowledge and that discipline which enables it to discern what conduct contributes to the good of society, but the will must be disposed to act in accordance with this knowledge. Unless intelligence is ripened into good purpose and right will, the end the state has in view is not attained.



If one of these elements is supplied without the other, the state fails to obtain that quality of conduct on which its welfare depends. Intelligence, without right disposition, may develop into calculating malevolence. A well-disposed will, without intelligence, may result in amiable stupidity. Neither of these alone subserves the end of the state. Of the two, however, a well-disposed will is more directly related to good citizenship than a well-informed mind. Right action is of far more importance to society than rare scholarship. The state is more concerned in what a man does, than in what he knows. It is the disposition of the will that gives that final character to conduct which makes it helpful or hurtful to the community. A man whose intellectual powers are all sharpened, who is alert at every point, who sees away ahead, and knows just how to attain all his desires — such a man, if his active powers have not been likewise disciplined, if his selfish dispositions run loose in untrained riot, is a greater bane to the state than if his powers for evil had been curtailed by ignorance. Especially may this be the case in a country like ours where every man shares in the task of government. No nation, and least of all a republican nation, where every man is his brother's keeper, can long stand the strain of a system which develops the head at the expense of the heart.

An education that is undertaken on the plea that it seeks to prepare for good citizenship essentially fails if it leaves out of sight the training of those active impulses of human nature that give final character to conduct. And this is no newly discovered truth. Plato said: "I mean by education that training which is given by suitable habits to the first instincts of virtue in children." Locke enforced the same truth when he wrote, "It is virtue, then, direct virtue, which is the head and invaluable part to be aimed at in education." Spencer but repeats the thought when he says that the aim of education is "the right ruling of conduct in all directions, and in all circumstances."

Notwithstanding this, however, the education which the state to-day administers for the avowed purpose of fostering those elements that make good citizens is almost wholly directed toward intellectual development, and only indirectly, if at all, toward the training of those active powers which give vital character to conduct. Our whole educational system is instructional rather than

formative. It aims to store the mind with facts and to discipline the intellect, but has little reference to the moulding of disposition. It is easy to see how this has come about. Human knowledge was rescued from the superstition and fruitless scholasticism of the middle ages by the discovery that human effort became productive only when it was grounded on definite knowledge of perceived realities. Francis Bacon conferred a priceless benefit on the world when he pointed out the methods by which precision and definiteness of knowledge were to be attained. The result of this movement, in which he was the great leader, was to give prominence to the importance of exact knowledge, and the correspondence of ideas with things. It gave new methods to education, and a new life, which is by no means yet exhausted. At first its influence was to cause men to regard education as simply the accumulation of information. Later, the idea of education was extended so as to embrace the training of those mental powers through which knowledge is attained. With this element of mental discipline added to the theory of education, it will still be observed that education is directed solely to the intellect.

Education, thus, has come largely to mean intellectual culture alone. Men have almost come to believe that the welfare of human life is limited exclusively to the perfection of those powers and products of the mind that are purely intellectual. Intellectualism has pervaded not only the field of education, but has characterized philosophy and religion. In philosophy it has culminated in agnosticism and positivism. In religion it has developed the tendency to rest in formulated truth—to regard dogma and creed as finalities, thus ignoring the unexplored regions of spirit which are the true source of life and power in religion. An individual's creed should be but the scaffolding upon which he stands while he upbuilds his spiritual temple. When he no longer adds to it, the structure itself ceases to rise. Thus we see how it comes that the energies of modern life have been diverted to the nourishment of the intellectual root of conduct. I know there are some who claim that intelligence is sufficient to secure that conduct essential to the welfare of the state. Colonel Ingersoll has said this, in that glittering rhetoric which so often covers deformities of logic. He declares that "nothing but scientific education can benefit mankind. Science took a handful of sand, constructed

a telescope, and with it read the starry page of heaven. Science took a tear from the cheek of unpaid labor, converted it into steam, and created a giant that turns with tireless arm the countless wheels of toil." Now it is true that science has benefited man materially. But science, the kind of science to which Ingersoll refers, does not work upon the dispositions of man's heart, which alone give the direction to conduct that benefits the state. This kind of science never stirred a man to the mastery of the passions surging within him. This science never softened the heart of the miser to charity — it never stayed the arm that holds the assassin's knife. This science never sweetened the heart embittered with unrequited toil, with hopes cast down, with ambitions unsatisfied. It never healed the festers of hatred; it never purged the heart from crime.

Experience testifies to the insufficiency of intellectual education to secure good citizenship. Where intellectual culture has been most diffused, we find no proportionate immunity from crime. Dr. Gladden has recently called attention to the fact that, in Massachusetts, where education has progressed to the most advanced position, the ratio of native criminals to the native population has more than doubled in the last thirty years. The facts and statistics of history throughout, will bear testimony that intellectual culture is no safeguard from the evils that beset the state.

It is evident that this must be so. Intellectual information and culture cannot restrain selfish disposition, because selfishness is not a rational, but a passionate principle. It can be displaced only by a deeper and stronger emotion. The soul that is possessed by a passion for self, cannot break its fetters by intellectual power alone. If selfishness is overcome at all, it must be by the "expulsive power of a new affection," that has its vantage ground in a personality beyond self. Our natural dispositions, which are the furniture with which we start in life, at first give direction to conduct; and mere knowledge will not change these dispositions. Knowledge may give natural disposition increased facility for exercising itself, and thus may strengthen the very evil that society seeks to destroy. How can it be expected that a man who has a powerful intellect, but depraved dispositions, should do otherwise than use that intellect to gratify his depraved impulses, and thus feed propensity instead of overcoming it? Looked at from

every point of view, I think it will be found that discipline and information of the intellect fall short of exerting that influence in the direction of conduct which the state desires, and for which it has undertaken the work of education.

The moulding of disposition so that it shall produce conduct which will promote the welfare of the state, must be accomplished by something other than precision and completeness of knowledge. Disposition — that which is the moving power in all that relates to conduct, has to do not only with the known — that which is intellectually defined and formulated — but with the undefined realities that lie beyond the known. Human life is an arch, one end of which rests upon knowledge, the other upon the invisible. It is related not only to that which the intellect has outlined, but to those undefined realities that transcend the limiting powers of the intellect. Even the attainment of knowledge itself is dependent upon a spirit or disposition that draws its support from the undiscovered territory beyond that which the intellect has explored. Increase in knowledge is possible only to that spirit which recognizes that there are realities beyond what it has yet discovered and defined; that spirit which, while planting itself firmly on the truth that is established, yet, with the eye of faith, peers expectantly and hopefully out into the regions beyond. That teachable disposition of spirit which gives guarantee of growth in knowledge, does not rest satisfied with the clear and complete possession of the truth it has mastered, but turns in expectant sensibility toward those unrevealed realities, which are but dimly outlined in the shadowy intuitions of the spirit. It lives not only in the blazing glare of certainty, but seeks as well the mellow light of a hopeful susceptibility. The truth to which it can turn only in prayerful, reverent impressibility, is just as needful to its life, as the truth that it has made its own. The spirit, that which imparts moral value to conduct, is fed from above; from a region into which the intellect may make ever extending incursions, but which it can never fully explore. When the mind settles down to rest in the satisfaction of truth attained, losing consciousness of the truth above it, then begins the paralysis of spiritual death.

Education must be conceived in the light of man's character as a spiritual being, whose life and power are drawn from an infinite source above himself. It is the highest part of education to bring

the mind into a consciousness of its dependence upon this superior source of life. The work of the teacher must be broadened, so as to include the moral and spiritual, as well as the intellectual. But, it may be at once objected, it will not do for the state to give spiritual aim to education. There are so many conflicting theories of religious truth and practice among churches that education by the state in the spiritual direction is impracticable. It is true that there are religious differences, but these consist largely in dogmatic and ecclesiastical matters. Churches have but little difference of opinion as to what constitutes the Christian life. When they come to consider the dispositions that should prompt righteous conduct, men will differ but little. And it is the inspiration of right dispositions, not the perpetuation of dogma, nor of ecclesiastical differences, to which the teacher should bend his energies. If some of the churches have lost their way by exalting the form above the spirit, that does not relieve the state from its danger or duty. Nor is it any valid objection to say that this would be practically for the state to undertake to teach Christianity. It is the glory of Christianity that it aims essentially at the propagation of a spiritual type. That the state finds its interests identical with this aim of Christianity, is only an evidence that the purpose of Christianity is in harmony with the laws and needs of human society. So far as Christianity is verifiably and admittedly a natural religion, that is, so far as it meets those natural religious wants of human nature universally admitted, it should enter into state education, and no further.

In proportion as education is raised to the spiritual plane, will it exert a quickening power that will fashion the dispositions that give character to conduct. It fails to accomplish the end for which the state has undertaken it, unless it directs the mind to moral ideals that have in them the element of infinitude. It must regard the mind upon which it works as a spirit that seeks its freedom in "limitless aims, and eternal ideas"—a "living will among the forces of nature, self-conscious by virtue of that will, striving to find God as the end, as well as the fountain of its being."

What characteristics should be found in an education having such aims? First, it should be developed along the line of self-activity. It should be kept in view that man is a self-determining power, working with and through dispositions. It never should

be lost to sight that the will grows in power only when conduct is the outcome of free moral choice; that character is established only when the habit of self-regulated activity is developed. Coercion may restrain from injurious conduct; fear of penalty may prevent crime; but these can never give those positive moral characteristics to disposition on which the efficacy of law and the permanency of the state depend. It is only when the human spirit has allied itself to the divine, through free, confirmed moral choice of the good and true, that social safety is secured. The developed love of the right, and the awakened sense of justice, are the most potent safeguards of the state.

Furthermore, such an education should be progressive in its methods. There should be the same continuous movement in the development of the moral powers that now characterizes our system in the development of the mental powers. Instruction should be based upon a rational apprehension of the laws and conditions governing the growth of the will. One of the great defects of efforts in the direction of moral education in the past is that they have been largely naïve and unreflective. The methods of education having moral ends in view are as susceptible of rational treatment as are the methods of intellectual training. There should be a developed system of doctrine relating to the laws and conditions governing the growth of the human soul towards the infinite, founded upon a rational apprehension of the motive powers of human nature. There should be trained teachers, who know how to watch over the budding affections and sentiments of our children just as thoroughly and intelligently as our teachers now know how to call out the latent powers of the intellect.

The principal materials of such an education might be included under the heads of instruction and inspiration. Among those things included in the former would be a survey of those elements of human nature relating to conduct. The youth would be made acquainted with that assemblage of natural dispositions which makes the capital with which he starts in life. He should come to know that it is possible for him to free himself from the dominance of natural disposition, and fashion his own character through the power of his will, inspired by the love of God. He should realize that the key to his liberation is possessed in the power of his will to direct attention and thought. Through this power of

controlling thought the mind may free itself from bondage to appetite, and ally itself to the good and true. Dr. Calderwood says: "The mystery of man's nature is the control he has over his thoughts, and it is this which occasions the specialty in his conduct which we call freedom of choice. It is only as a thinker that man escapes being the slave of passion; only as he persists in regulating his conduct in accordance with intelligence that he forms a character which can prove itself superior to sensibility and appetite." The youth should be taught also how habit may confirm and enlarge the liberty attained through the control of thought. He should be made to understand how good disposition, weak at first, may be reinforced by repeated exercise. He should become familiar with those circumstances and conditions favorable to the formation of habits. Further, he should be supplied with ideals to guide him in the selection and confirming of his dispositions, and instructed with reference to their use and necessity in the work of developing in his character dispositions that are weak or entirely unawakened.

But of greater importance than the work of instruction is that of inspiration. The fires that start the machinery of morality must be kindled in the spirit by the inspirations that can be communicated only from one living soul to another. The divine enthusiasm must quicken the soul and vitalize action. It is this that makes the work of education preëminently a religious work. This must precede and lead the way to all intellectual instruction. It is a law of our nature that the intellect can work upon that only which has first been taken into the life of the spirit. The communication of a religious devotion, of a divine zeal, is the first and greatest work of the teacher. Without this all else is as "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." Moral instruction can never insure that kind of conduct, to attain which the state has undertaken the work of education, until it has been fused into the being of the soul with the emotion and passion which the spiritual life alone confers. The intellect can only work upon that which is already wrought into the life of the spirit; but religious zeal reaches out and lays hold of those elements of life that are foreign to man's natural disposition, and assimilates them through the power of love into his spirit. The conduct which the state seeks to attain does not proceed from the unchanged natural disposi-

tions of men, even though served by disciplined intellects. It comes from dispositions purified and improved by the addition of qualities that the will did not at first possess, and the expulsion of others which unaided it could not eject. The soul must be connected with that source of personal life which transcends the defining powers of the intellect, and which can best be touched through the fingers of faith and love.

The religious passion, to be truly life-giving, must be recognized as connecting the spirit with the Infinite and Eternal. While it embraces the "enthusiasm of humanity," and acknowledges mankind as the channel through which the source of personal life reveals Himself to men, yet it also recognizes that human nature is but the vehicle, and that back of this lies the pulsing fountain of all life, the eternal, infinite God. While religion may be defined, in the words of Matthew Arnold, as "morality touched by emotion," yet if we lose sight of the fact, as Arnold seems to do, that this emotion links us to the infinite source of personal life — that man owes to the infinite personality above him all that gives him character as a moral intelligence — religion loses its uplifting and transforming power. It ceases to throw out that heat which makes man's dispositions plastic. It is the abiding confidence in the existence of a superior Intelligence, who knows us better than we know ourselves, that inspires hope in the human breast. It is the consciousness that when we put ourselves in right relation to him we may draw from him those personal qualities which will supplement our own deficiencies, that enables us to accomplish the work of self-transformation on which the welfare of the state so depends.

This is the testimony of the deepest insight of man in all ages. Even those who would measure all realities affecting human life by those conceptions which the intellect defines cannot close their ears entirely to the voice of the heart. The gifted genius of Professor Clifford, while staggering under the conditions imposed by the intellectualism so dominant in this age, was obliged to exclaim, at the close of his inquiry into the moral nature of man, "Far be it from me to undervalue the help and strength which many of the bravest of our brethren have drawn from the thought of an unseen helper of men. He who, wearied or stricken in the fight with the powers of darkness, asks himself, in a solitary place, 'Is



it all for nothing?' 'Shall we, indeed, be overthrown?'—he does find something which may justify the thought. In such a moment of utter sincerity, when a man has bared his own soul before the immensities and the eternities, a presence, in which his own poor personality is shriveled into nothingness, arises within him, and says, as plainly as words can say, 'I am with thee, and I am greater than thou.'"

Education must aim at intelligence vitalized by divine love, before it is a guarantee of good citizenship. I know it may be objected that it will be difficult for the state to fill the schools with teachers who can realize these high aims. This may be true. But by clearly setting these aims before it, the state will be able to approach nearer and nearer to the attainment of such an ideal. And nothing less than such an education can divert into beneficent channels the power which increased intelligence is conferring on all members of society. Every other aim of education pales into nothingness when compared with the work of soul-development, or heart-culture. This is so, whether we regard it in the light of the individual welfare or of the common good. If there is a boy or girl who can now say to me, or in time to come can say to me, "You gave me an impulse that helped me to conquer myself—you exerted an influence that made me more generous than I was before—you said something that inspired in me a deeper love for God"—that, my friends, will outweigh all the science, all the logic, all the facts that I ever imparted to their intellects; and under the cover of that one deed I shall hope to be forgiven a multitude of sins. The building of moral character into the divine likeness is the noblest work of the teacher, and the highest aim and security of the state.

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ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT REV. RICHARD GILMOUR, D.D.

It is a pleasant circumstance that a Catholic Bishop has been invited to appear before this Congress of the churches of America, and requested to discuss a subject so vital to our welfare as "Religion and our Public Schools." It is a sign of the breaking

down of the old rancor that animated religious controversy, and also a sign of the awakening of the minds of the people to the necessity of religion in the education of the young. I, therefore, thank the gentlemen of this Congress not only for their invitation, but also for the selection of the subject they have offered for our mutual discussion. The importance of education cannot be exaggerated, nor its influence over-estimated; for upon it depends not only the welfare of the individual, but, as the individual is the type of society and forms it, the welfare of society and the welfare of the state.

From the nature of our laws, the citizen must take a part in his own and his neighbor's government. To do this two things are needed: the instruction of the intellect; the cultivation of the heart. Man is composed of body and soul; hence, from his nature, he must deal with matter and spirit. Natural science is the knowledge of nature's powers developed by observation. Spiritual science is the knowledge of God's law as imprinted in the heart of man or directly revealed by God. Each must form an integral part of Christian education, and, as man is composed of body and soul, must be conjointly cultivated. Observation and history teach that society must be built upon God, rather than man, and it is better to cultivate the heart than the intellect. Both should be educated, but the heart rather than the head.

In the history of the world, those nations have prevailed amongst whom God was strong. From the time that God spoke to Adam, and after him through the patriarchs and through Moses and the prophets until the Great Teacher came, and after him through his Apostles, down to this time, the universal word from God to man has been, "God supreme; man rendering to him the devotion and service due to his Creator." Whilst Israel served God Israel was strong. Whilst the pagan nations served God they prevailed. There is no example better than that of Rome, or Greece, or Babylon, or Assyria. Whilst their gods prevailed they conquered, — not only conquered others, but ruled themselves. The state, even as the individual, rests upon God. No man is strong without God; no state is strong without God; and no society can be strong where belief in God does not exist. The history of the nations, the peoples, wherever known, verifies this statement. And just in proportion to the purity and the

vigor of the religion taught are the people, are the tribes, are the nations strong. When Christ came here on earth he preached but a single word, and that was God and the Father. "I and the Father are one. Teach what I have taught. Teach God's commandments. Teach what thou hast heard me teach." And with that the Apostles went forth to conquer the world.

When we in this nation began, we began with a marked, clear, distinct assertion of religion. The colonies were founded almost entirely on the basis of religion. The Puritan found a home in the wilderness; the Catholic found a home in Maryland; the Quaker found a home in Pennsylvania; the Carolinas gave a refuge to the Huguenot, and Virginia defended her church and her king. The whole of American society was strongly, vigorously impregnated with the thought of religion. The first immigration after the Revolution consisted of Irish and Germans, each seeking a refuge in the far distant West from the oppressions of their native countries. They had strongly marked religious minds. Therefore society here was started in an unusually strong condition, and for a long period of our career we were markedly a religious nation, pervaded by strong, essentially Christian thought. No matter how divergent may have been its forms, — no matter how at present we may differ as to modes, — no man can doubt or gainsay the vigorous strength of the religious, Christian thought implanted in the minds of our American society. But I ask, Is that the phase of the present day? I ask, Is there not a current setting in — strong, clearly marked — in an opposite direction? Are our churches filled? Are our people markedly religious? Is there a strong, essentially Christian thought dominating the public mind? Do the churches reach the masses? We are building large, fine churches; we are ornamenting them inside; we are producing much more polished forms of thought; there is a higher culture; but are we reaching the masses? I do not hesitate a single moment in stating that we are vastly, vastly failing to reach the masses. I do not hesitate a single moment to state that we are vastly sinking in the scale of morality. Public thought, the public mind, our politics, our statesmen, are no longer of the high standard, the noble form and character, that marked us in the beginning. Our political campaigns have no longer the ring of a statesmanlike thought in them. We are descending to the char-

acter of "politicians," and our public policy is marked — sharply and clearly marked — with what old-fashioned honesty would strongly condemn.

That is a great state of things! This is a serious thought to present. But because it is an unpleasant thought, it is not the less worthy of consideration, and we, as thinking men and women, candidly discussing the great problems of the day, should not shrink from examining a disease because it is a disease. We are here as ministers of the gospel, with the right to speak to the world, and tell it God's law, and to insist upon obedience to it, and therefore it is for us to examine deep down into the source of life, and to ask, Why is the great "broad church" so largely being filled? There must be a cause.

I think I shall be borne out in the statement, that in our early history our entire school system was formed on the basis of religious instruction. The old parochial system that prevailed in the New England States, and prevailed over the country largely, was based upon the idea of giving the child religious instruction, and religion formed an essential part of the child's education. He was taught to read the Bible; he was taught the value of the catechism; the minister came at regular periods, and made examinations, and saw that the teacher fulfilled his duty. But in the course of time that system was changed, and we adopted the present. Discussion, difficulties, contentions arose, and the old-fashioned custom of teaching a strong, manly, Christian thought to the child, the old-fashioned custom of saying to him, "There is a God, and God must rule; there is a law, and that law must prevail," has been frittered away with the doctrine that man is sufficient for himself. Man is becoming the beginning and the end of himself. I insist that man is not sufficient for himself, and I appeal to the history of the world to show that man has never been able by his own powers, unassisted by God, to manage himself. There is an established maxim, *Vox populi, vox Dei*. Is that a correct maxim? It has passed into life; it is accepted almost everywhere: "The voice of the people is the voice of God." That is: Religion is to begin with the people, God is to begin with the people; God is to take from the people. Should not the maxim rather be, *Vox Dei, vox populi*, — "The voice of God is the voice of the people"?

Now in our system of education we have pared down, and we have eliminated, until we have so emasculated religious instruction in our schools that it has come to be a text culled from the Scriptures, that may not offend, or a hymn that will teach nothing. The result is that, as a general rule, our teaching in our state schools has ceased to have the ring of the old-fashioned, manly, vigorous, Christian doctrine that made men religious, that taught the pupil a clear-cut thought, and caused him to feel that religion was an essential part of his being. The method of to-day begins by teaching the child that religion in the schools is but a formal affair; it is to constitute at best but a mere exercise; it forms no essential part of his education. It is not difficult to see where the "broad church," under these circumstances, gets recruits, nor is it difficult to see why we are losing the old-fashioned ring and manliness in our Christian thought. It is not difficult to see why our churches are being occupied with cushions, and why it is that only the higher classes are patronizing them. It is not difficult to see why the great masses of the people are abandoning religion. It is not difficult to see why men are now going through this country — a thing that fifty years ago no man would have dared to do, and no man would have been tolerated in doing! — going through this country insulting Christ, while applauding audiences clap their hands and pay to hear their God insulted. Such a thing as that was impossible fifty years ago.

Now you ask me, If these things are true, what do you propose as a remedy? I propose religion, and I propose religion, strong, firm, manly. No apology for the law of God! No apology for Christ! Let Christ and him crucified be spoken from the mountain tops, spoken in the noonday, spoken in the family, spoken in the school, spoken in the work-shop, spoken everywhere.

It is a recognized fact that, under our polity, the state cannot teach religion; the state cannot, under any circumstances, have anything to do with religion. But it would be a grave mistake to say, that because the state does not recognize any form of religion, because in her nomenclature she knows no religion, therefore the state can *exist* without religion, or does not depend upon religion. On the contrary, states build upon religion, whether it be pagan, or whether it be Christian. The state must not only build upon it, but must have its foundations settled upon it, because no

state can live without morality, and morality comes from religion. Morality springs from the teachings of God. Morality springs from the doctrine which God has infused into the mind, whether directly by inspiration into the soul, or externally by teaching. This the state must recognize, and on this the state must build, if it would endure.

Now, the state cannot teach religion in its schools; and, besides, owing to the great diversity of thought that there is amongst us, it is utterly impossible to provide any form of religious teaching in the public schools that will satisfy all citizens. It will be conceded that those citizens who pay taxes should have, each and individually, his share in the results and in the benefits of those taxes. "No representation, no taxation," is as good law to-day as it was in the times of the Revolution, and it is founded upon absolute justice. Therefore we ask, very naturally, If that state of things is impossible, as it now exists, can it not be made possible? I say, it *can* be made possible. I say that we, in this country, can do just as well as our neighbors can do, and I say that our far-famed ingenuity, which is not acknowledged without reason, can find a way, if there is a will. I say that Yankee ingenuity and American skill are quite as capable of finding a way as are the old countries. In England, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in Canada, our neighbor, a way is found, and there is an arrangement made by which religion is taught, and taught in a healthy, manly manner to the pupils of the state; and we can do it just as well as our neighbors, if we will seek to do it.

I say, in conclusion — I should have been glad to speak a little longer, but I cannot interfere with your order of proceedings — I say, in conclusion, that our utterances should have a strong, manly ring in the pulpit. There should be no shrinking or yielding in the face of common enemies. The churches should lay aside their individual differences. There is a common enemy facing us, and we are brought squarely to meet it. Shall religion or "no religion" prevail? Shall God or "no God" prevail? Shall we as a nation live with God within us, or shall we as a nation trust to self, to man? If we trust to man, we shall pay the penalty of our trust, and that will be a repetition of the history of the world. We shall write the fairest effort that society has so far ever made to govern itself, and to govern itself upon the basis of reason and

intelligence, a failure. Let, therefore, the pulpit arise and speak boldly and vigorously: "The child must be educated in religion, and God must rule." Then we shall have a strong, Christian people.

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ADDRESS BY REV. J. COLEMAN ADAMS.

I almost hesitate to speak to you and break the spell of this benignant and charming eloquence to which we are all debtors, lest I should seem, in any wise, by any word that I should drop, to weaken the force of arguments whose weight, I think, must be obvious to all Christian spirits here. Personally, I desire to thank our Right Reverend friend who has just taken his seat, for so magnificently voicing what, I think, must be the sentiments of the American clergy in their deepest hearts in regard to this problem which we are discussing.

I dislike, moreover, to proceed to my own statement on this subject, lest I might seem to traverse and object to any of the scholarly arguments that were presented in the first address of the evening. And yet I think we are all conscious that there are other sides to this many-sided question, which have not yet been dwelt upon.

Somebody has said that almost the only religious belief of cultivated Englishmen to-day is that there is very much to be said against every point of view; and I have sometimes thought that the same remark applied to this matter of religion and our public schools. I am conscious of a vague suspicion that something might be said against the arguments which would connect religious instruction with our public institutions which have been given in your hearing to-night. Nor am I so vain as to suppose that I shall advance any doctrine which shall be utterly unassailable. And yet, from my own convictions, and because I believe I voice the sentiments of a great many Americans to-day, I am to take the ground before you to-night that it is wrong politically, and impolitic from a religious point of view, that the state should undertake religious instruction in its public schools.

You will allow me to say in the very outset that this is no question in regard to the value of moral instruction or religious instruction *per se*. I hope every one in this hall to-night is willing to unite in the sentiments which have been uttered, that religion should be an integral part of all true education. I feel that an injustice is done to those who are called "secularists" in connection with this subject of religion in our public schools, and that they are vaguely connected with those people who do not value religious instruction at all. Such, if I understand it, is not their position. They believe so profoundly in the value of religious instruction, they believe so earnestly that it is at the very basis, is indeed the very tap-root, of individual life in its completeness, that they would far rather go with the Right Reverend Bishop in the direction of the establishment of denominational schools than go with those who would utterly obliterate all religious instruction from the early training of youth, if that were the only alternative.

Then, another thing. I think the American people are so strongly wedded to their system of public education that it is useless to discuss whether it is to be given up in favor of some other, such as was indirectly suggested, and which Bishop Gilmour might have elaborated more fully had he had opportunity. I believe the public school system is so closely interwoven with the very warp and woof of our life as citizens and as a nation that it is impossible that we should think in this generation, in this century, or for centuries to come, of any separation of this system from our life as a people. Will you grant me, then, this assumption: That the public schools are here to stay as public schools, as the charge of the state for the intellectual education of the young? And will you grant me this other assumption, which I desire to make with equal emphasis: That religious education of the young is and should be an integral part of their training?

Now, then, with these two propositions before us, what about religion in our public schools? If you watched carefully the argument in the opening paper of the evening, you noticed that its trend was precisely in the direction taken by a very large party in America to-day, which is that we must have religious instruction in our public schools; not merely a formal reading of the Bible, not a mechanical repetition of the Lord's Prayer at the



opening of the exercises, not even training in the fundamentals of morality — ethical instruction on those points which are common, perhaps, to all peoples emerged from barbarism, — not that at all, but absolute, distinct religious instruction in the public schools. And religious instruction, when it comes to be defined as our friend the leader of the debate to-night indirectly defined it, is Christian instruction. That is the aim, that the ultimatum, of the party now pleading for religious instruction in our public schools. That means a very definite thing. When you begin to talk about religion you involve man's attitude towards his Maker, and his Maker's attitude toward him; you involve the whole subject of righteousness and unrighteousness, redemption and retribution. When you come to that subject you involve man's relation to our blessed Lord, and his offices and functions toward us as his children, his subjects, and his disciples. When you approach that subject you come upon ground where every man says, "Here, I have an opinion about that myself. I have something more than an opinion, I have a conviction. I have a conviction how these things should be taught. I wish, if I am a Presbyterian, to have them taught in certain ways. I wish, if I am a Universalist, to have them taught in certain ways. If I am a Roman Catholic, I desire my children to be brought up in religious instruction in the ways of my fathers and of the great church of which I am a member." And we say rightly. It is perfectly legitimate that we should protest. And that is why we say that the state has no right to step in and take the religious instruction of these children into its charge. Because, if you have a teacher in your public schools who is to teach religion, that teacher must believe in that religion, must believe in something definite, must have a creed. Not only that, but the state must see to it that that creed corresponds to the state's standard; and the state must have a standard, must have a creed, must have a religion. There you have it clearly and definitely outlined. There is no use in making any more words about it. If we have religious instruction in our public schools, the state must have a religion, the state must adopt a creed, the state must teach that creed, and you and I shall be taxed to support the teaching of that creed in our public schools, whether we conform to it and believe in it or not.

Now, if you want a state religion established, the quickest way

to secure it is to support the party that wishes to introduce religious instruction in our public schools. That is just where it will end, and it will not come short of that at all; and if we desire any such conflict of opinion and conviction as would arise from this policy in a great, diversified, heterogeneous population like ours, why, we have only to proceed with this discussion to invite it in all its horrors. I believe implicitly that there ought to be a great deal more religion in our politics than is obvious to the naked eye to-day. But I submit that no man wants to see any more politics in religion than we have at present. And when the time comes that America shall decide that religion shall be taught in her public schools, in view of all the evil consequences which will come in the train of that decision, I believe there will be a large party in this country that will be looking for a new "Mayflower" and setting sail for a new Plymouth Rock, whereon they may set up the standard of religious freedom, dishonored in the house of its friends. And I think I know of one man who will pack his gripsack and be the first to go on board.

The argument is made, ladies and gentlemen, by one who was to have been here to-night, but whose arguments upon the subject on previous occasions are now, I believe, public property—I refer to Dr. Parkhurst—that in the beginning God joined the church and the state, and the divorce has never been pronounced. Granted. So God, time and again, has joined man and woman in marriage, and nothing but death pronounces the divorce; but while they live together their functions are not one, but diverse. The father cannot do the mother's work, and the mother cannot do the father's work; and so, while they are one, their functions are distinct; and we may admit that argument, which is the argument of a party in the United States to-day, and still hold that it is not the function and it is not the proper sphere of the state as a state, the community in its executive function, to step in and take charge of religious education.

You say to me, "If the state does not do this work, who will?" There used to be two institutions, also founded of Almighty God, on which we could place dependence for this very work. God founded the family, and made mothers and fathers. God made the church, in the name of Jesus Christ our blessed Lord. And he committed into the hands of these two divine institutions, side

by side with the work which the state carries on, the work of religious instruction. Has the church grown so weak, has the family gone into such decadence, that they can no longer perform these functions? Then let us rally a new crusade! Let us call on the church to go forth in new strength, and rouse itself to the duty that clearly lies before it! Let us raise the family from its decadence and place it on a basis where it can effect some religious instruction!

You say the church cannot, in one day out of seven, counteract the great secular tendencies of our age. But will you point me, my brother or my sister, to any commandment in the Decalogue, any commandment of God or man, which says to the Christian church, "One day in seven shalt thou labor and do all thy work, and the remaining six days thou shalt be idle"? There are seven days in the week, and the church is authorized to work on every one of them; and if it be needful that the church shall gather the children for instruction daily under its charge, God speed the day! The church is not so lazy that she is not willing to undertake that work. She has not half tested her strength against the secularism of this age and this nation. Wait till she rouses. Wait till she gains her power. Wait till she hears her call clearly, and, believe me, there will be no sacrifice too great for the church, there will be no labor too mighty for her to undertake, in going out to stem the tide of this great secularism. And these consecrated words which we have heard to-night, and the approval of this great audience, I think, bear me out in this assertion. But, in heaven's name, leave the work to the church! Call the church to the work! Set the two face to face, and you will see how the occasion, as in all past ages, will rouse and develop in the Christian church the power needful for the emergency. But keep the state, I beg you, out of the field! Resist that tendency which is growing all through the American mind to thrust all functions and all labors upon the state!

I am away from home, and perhaps I may make a confession which it might not be safe to make in Chicago to-day. I am, in my way, a bit of a socialist, as I believe nine-tenths of the people in America are, without knowing it. I should not dare say so at home, because socialism is in rather bad odor in our city just at present. But then, you know, ministers are ready to ventilate

their little heresies when they get away from their own congregations. That is their opportunity. I am a little of a socialist, and I suppose must go with the current to be a larger one. I suppose I should look with complacency to see the state assume charge of the telegraphs and of the railroads, as it now has charge of the public schools, and perhaps run all the banks, and the bakeries, and a great many other things. With the fear of the American Economic Association before my eyes, I should not dare say that it would perhaps not be best for the state to regulate our hours of sleep, and give us our amusements, as it now takes care of our children in the public schools. But there is one point where I think the line must be drawn. There is a point beyond which socialism runs mad, and that is just the point where our brethren who have gone over into this movement for making the state the teacher of religion have landed. There is a position from which the socialist himself recoils. But our religious friends out-Herod the Herods of socialism in wishing to thrust upon the shoulders of the state in its official capacity the care of a man's soul. I suppose the old doctrine of *Laissez faire* is dead and buried, but I pray heaven that if ever the time comes when the American people, having put everything else into the hands of the state or the community in its corporate capacity, shall say, "Now we will undertake to place the souls of these children in charge of the state," that old doctrine of *Laissez faire* will have life enough left in it, even in its grave, to rise up in a temporary resurrection and say, "Let be! Hands off from this sacred province! This work belongs to other institutions that can do it better than the state." And if socialism must come, in heaven's name let us call a halt just at this point, and go no further!

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SPEECH BY REV. LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON, D.D.

It is very delightful to observe to what point in the line of this discussion this assembly and the speakers who have addressed it are altogether agreed. They stand clearly and without hesitation

upon the same major premise. Nobody here, I undertake to say, will be ready to controvert the proposition that no adequate education of any human mind for the exigencies of human life, whether private or civil, can be had without not merely religious instruction but religious training. There is the starting point. Now, it is well enough for us to define with some exactness where the point is at which we diverge. It is at the inference from this.

One inference is: If the state would train its youth to good citizenship and good life, the state must inculcate more or less the principles of religion. And that doctrine also diverges into two, as represented by the two earnest and impressive speakers who opened the discussion. The first conception is that the public schools, common to the whole people and free to all, should teach such generalities of religion as all the people can agree to tolerate in the public schools. The objection to that, as advanced by the second speaker, is a most weighty, and, to my mind, a most conclusive one: That such faded-out generalities of religion are of no account in bracing the mind of youth to meet the exigencies of life that are before it. These are the two forms which this argument takes. The inference is drawn from the necessity of religious education, that the state ought to look to it, either directly by its officers or by subsidizing the various divisions of the Christian church.

There is another inference from this major premise: Any adequate education must include religious training; therefore the state cannot give an adequate education. The public schools can give only a partial and inadequate training for the life of the citizen. That is the doctrine that I accept — not that the state ought to teach religion because religion is necessary to education, but, since religion is necessary to education therefore the state *cannot* educate. It can give lessons, but it cannot educate.

The most misleading word that is used in all this controversy is the word "education," public education. If we should substitute another word a little different from it — that carries less by association, at least, — and say "public instruction," the whole question would be lightened of many of its gravest difficulties. There are certain branches in which the state, which does not presume to take the character of the child in its hands and frame it, as the

Spartan state and the Platonic state undertook to do, can instruct. It can take the child, if the child is tendered to it for this purpose, and train it for a few hours on five days of the week in certain branches of instruction; but it cannot undertake to relieve the parent and the church of the duty of framing the character of the child.

The argument has been so satisfactorily presented by the gentleman who went before me that I do not care to insist further upon it, except to reiterate with emphasis, that it is not only on account of our *polity*, but on account of our *religion*, that we do not want the state to meddle in this business. That matter is laid down distinctly in the Holy Scriptures. There is no commandment, "County Supervisors, educate your children"; "Common Councilmen and Aldermen, go teach"; but, "Fathers, bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and, "Disciples, go into all the earth and make pupils and scholars of all nations."

I look at the thing with regard to my own children. I do not consider it any favor—it is a favor I will not accept if it is tendered to me—that the best school district in New England, or out of it, shall take my children out of my hands to give them a religious education. I cannot spare my children for that to any school-master alive.

That is *my* business. I am accountable to God for my dealing in that respect, and no man can discharge me of that accountability. The state ought distinctly to repudiate all this sham and affectation of religious teaching in the public schools, which serves only as a disguise, only as a salve to weak consciences, only as an apology for unfaithful parents and unfaithful churches. Let the state say distinctly to fathers and mothers, and to the representatives of the Christian religion and of all religion, "Don't allow yourselves to think for a moment that we can discharge you of this responsibility. The responsibility is yours. We can go in this matter just so far as we are all agreed to go together, and that is so short a distance in the present state of society that we had better not start at all."

## SPEECH BY REV. WILLIAM BARROWS, D. D.

It would be difficult to put before this audience to-night a more important question than we have had. It underlies the church. It underlies the state. In this matter of state education the state assumes to step in, by the right of eminent domain, between the parent and the child, and say to the parent, "I propose to make a citizen, for my interest, out of this child." That is the proposition. In order to do that, the state must work over into a citizen the material that God and the parent put in the hands of the child. What is that material? It is three-fold: physical, intellectual, moral. If the three are wrought in well, you have the symmetry, proportion, and promise of a good citizen. If either is left out, you have so far dwarfed the product. What now? Physical education will give us a Hercules, a Samson. Physical and intellectual only, the moral nature being suppressed, will give us the devil. I do not say that we are all made up for that. I say, "the moral nature suppressed." The devils are intellectual, you may believe, but they do not go off into a good life as citizens. I have listened with great interest to the Bishop in this matter, and give my hearty congratulations that we have heard such words. The speakers preceding have agreed on one thing: that to have a good citizen we must have something of the moral nature developed. Then they divide, one saying that it must be a religious development by the state, the other saying that the state cannot develop men religiously.

What then? We have a moral nature, and I submit there may be a reconciliation of the two sides, and the state can carry the point which mainly she wishes. Let the state put into the schools a system of absolute morality on which we shall all agree. That there is a moral nature, that it is susceptible of cultivation, that we can lift the citizen very high with the moral without the religious, is evident. That we cannot teach religion in the schools, I agree perfectly with the gentleman who preceded me. That it ought to be taught somewhere, I agree perfectly with the Bishop. But the state cannot do it. Then what can the state do? *In medio tutissimus ibis*, I think. Lay hold on the moral nature. Develop that in its varied forms. Press it to the very front, making it crown the individual. Oh, if we could put in the morality

of which the child is susceptible, what a grand advance we could make in the citizenship of the United States!

As the thing works, how is it? I have painful memories of addresses delivered years ago, again and again, to four hundred Massachusetts boys in her reformatory schools, where, probably for the first time, they learned by the voice of the commonwealth that they had a moral nature that must be taken care of. Trained physically, trained intellectually, let alone morally, and by and by the officer comes, puts his hand upon your shoulder and you are a criminal, and away to Westborough. It is a reproach to the state so to handle a child. It is perfectly natural that that result should come.

If I may illustrate very plainly, I propose to make a tripod. A child has three natures. I propose to make a citizen out of those three natures. If I leave out the training of one of those natures, the citizen is spoiled. A man proposes to manufacture. Here is a village with a dozen factory buildings within a short distance of each other. He will run them by steam. What a magnificent foundation he puts in! That is the physical part. How close the granite! How deep! How without jar the engine will move when the steam is on! Then the engine, if I may so say, the intellectual part—comes in, with all the machinery in all these buildings—machinery that will almost think when the steam is put on. You have now two elements toward the factory. The engineer is yet wanting; the steam is yet to fill all these parts and make everything hum and work through every building. When the engineer comes and takes charge everything runs well. Until the moral nature is brought into action we have no good citizenship.

Therefore, in the brief words I have to utter, I say, Drop the religious, as committed to the parent and the church. We must do that. Take the moral nature, as to the treatment of which we can all agree, and develop it. Bring in a Jew, an infidel, a Protestant, and a Romanist, set them about a table, and let them agree on a system of absolute morality. That can be done; there is no difficulty about it. I see no better way to get the best citizen that the state can make.



### THIRD DISCUSSION.

TOPIC: THE PRESENT NECESSITY FOR A RE-STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN BELIEFS.

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PAPER BY REV. DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D.

The religious system called Christianity, after the name of its author, who is also its Prophet and High Priest, is sometimes more definitely, though less comprehensively, styled the Faith. Sometimes the two designations are used together as mutually explanatory, as when the Augsburg Confession speaks of "our holy faith and Christian religion." In thus designating the Christian system by a term whose first sense is simply belief or credence there is the implication that it is built upon and also embodies certain objective truths, facts, and principles, which are its substance, and through which its character is expressed. These truths are indeed in themselves always the same, because they are the manifestations of the unchangeable purposes of the divine wisdom and goodness; but because men's conceptions of them are mutable the formularies in which they may be expressed in certain conditions will, in other conditions, appear quite inadequate, perhaps misleading. And, as a matter of fact, it may be asserted that the terms in which religious beliefs are expressed can never be fixed beyond the need of occasional changes and re-statements.

It is very manifest that the present age is a time of changes in the form of Christian thought, and modifications of doctrinal conceptions. The formularies of doctrine which have come down to us from the past, although so precious to those by whom they were once cherished, no longer satisfactorily express the theological conceptions of the best minds of Christendom. We venture the opinion, also, that the changed method of viewing Christian doctrines is better than that which it replaces, being broader,

more rational, less artificial, and truer to the teachings of the word of God. And although it has become fashionable in certain circles to speak lightly of theology, and to prefer the sentimental and practical in religion to the speculative and intellectual, it is still very certain that Christianity, as manifested in its human subjects, must be, first of all, a system of truths to be accepted respecting God's purposes towards men and his methods for working out his designs in and among them. These purposes and his methods for their practical development he has revealed in his word, and now he commends them to our acceptance, both as truths to be intellectually believed and as spiritual manifestations of transforming power to be accepted and experienced.

The changes that are so strongly marked in the religious thought of the age, however, affect only remotely and but slightly the substance of Christian truth, and it is confined almost entirely to forms of expression, called for by fuller and clearer appreciations of its nature and relations. God's revelations of himself and of his dispensations, though always substantially the same, have been becoming fuller and clearer. The opening sentence of the Epistle to the Hebrews indicates the divine method in the work: "God having of old time spoken unto the fathers by the prophets, by divers portions and in divers manners, hath, in the end of these days, spoken to us in his Son." Of the revelation there indicated, no doubt the Scriptures of the two Testaments include the substance; they also contain all that a Christian needs to know or believe for his soul's profit. There is, however, reason to believe that there has been, and will continue to be, a steady advance in the minds and thoughts of the church towards clearer, broader, and more adequate conceptions of what is declared in the Bible. Here certainly the theory of evolution has a manifest basis of fact, and these things make it necessary that the accepted symbols of Christian belief should be, from time to time, re-examined, and the whole substance of doctrine re-stated. This duty rests upon the living church at every stage, as the custodian and interpreter of the divine word.

A very high and sacred office is by the Head of the church assigned to his truth, the belief of which is said to be the condition and effectual agency of sanctification, and of the attainment of eternal life. We are, therefore, warranted in assuming that a

basis of theological opinions, made up of the great fundamental truths and doctrines of the Bible, unmixed with fatal misbeliefs, set forth in plain and comprehensive truths, is necessary to the best interests of the church, and, to a not inconsiderable extent, to the religious life of the individual, and, since religion as embodied in church life is largely communistic, having very large interests common to the whole body, a recognized consensus of beliefs is a condition requisite to the unity and the welfare of the whole body.

The church has never been without its accepted confession of faith. This was, in the beginning, embodied in the living words of the apostles, who taught what they had received from the lips of the divine Teacher himself. Soon after the times of the apostles, men began to formulate the lessons taught them by their inspired instructors, very briefly in most cases, and in only fragmentary summaries. Of this kind, the recently rediscovered *Didache* is a specimen, and the so-called "Apostles' Creed," is a later and fuller and more nearly complete summary of doctrines. A little later, under the united influences of freer thinking and the ever-increasing remoteness of authority of the apostles, came the age of heresies, which in turn necessitated more definite and comprehensive statements of Christian doctrines, so bringing in an era of creed-making, with the development in definite symbols of the principal doctrines of the church. The thousand years of the enslavement of Christian thought—from the fifth to the fifteenth century—though but little agitated by heretical manifestations, nevertheless had its times of earnest inquiry, at each of which it usually happened that some great point of Christian doctrine would be placed in a focal light and subjected to earnest scrutiny; and in most cases this was with profitable results. Church history presents the names of certain great leaders of the thinking of Christendom, which stood out like mountain peaks in a landscape, each of whom impressed his own mental and spiritual image upon the living forms of Christian thought. At our distance their views may appear fragmentary and unsymmetrical, and their arguments at times unsatisfactory, but they were—each in his place—the men for their times, and by their labors they contributed liberally to the stores of corrected doctrinal ideas, though often one-sided and over-philosophical.

Protestantism set out with a creed of positive doctrines, including the best parts of the traditional orthodoxy, but with a large share of the "convenient indefiniteness" recommended by Melancthon, and without carefully guarding against possible and dangerous implications. It included the Athanasian doctrine of the person of Christ, which carried with it that of the trinity, but left the subject open to the implication of tritheism and of conditioning the Godhead. It accepted the Augustinian conception of sin without guarding it against the fatalistic suggestions of that system. The declaration recently made by a venerable professor of theology, that "Augustine paganized Christianity," may be taken as an exaggerated statement of a pregnant truth. It also embodied in its creed Anselm's soteriology, and failed to guard it against its liability to make the atonement appear as simply a commercial transaction, so necessitating either limited atonement or else universal salvation; and even its own central and distinctive doctrine of justification by faith was not sufficiently guarded against its liability to become constructively antinomian. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the years succeeding the Reformation constituted an era of earnest polemical discussions, with varying schools of doctrine, extending all the way from Lutheran consubstantiation\* and Anglican high-churchism downward to Zwinglian laxity and Anabaptist fanaticism. The creeds and confessions of which the times became so fruitful were the purposed remedies provided by the wisest and best men of the age for the maladies from which Protestantism was suffering.

The student of church history is well aware that large and influential portions of the churches of the Reformation were but par-

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\* At the close of this discussion, the chairman of the Executive Committee made the following statement: "I wish to say that the Rev. A. H. Bartholomew, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, of this city, demurs to the reference that has been made to consubstantiation. He thinks that the charge of consubstantiation brought against Luther and the Lutheran Church has never been sustained, and that the highest authorities of that Church from Luther to this day are opposed to the doctrine. He would refer all who are interested in the subject to Dr. Krauth's great work, *The Conservative Reformation*. We desire to have all churches in sympathy with us, and to have them feel that full justice is done to them. It seems, therefore, only proper to mention this." To which Dr. Curry replied: "Mr. President, I was referring simply to a historical fact, and I have certainly misread church history for fifty years if there is not such a thing in church history as consubstantiation. As to whether Luther ever held it, or whether the Lutheran Church ever did, I have nothing to say."

tially emancipated from the traditions of Romanism, especially in respect to the character and design of the sacraments, the nature of the church and its power of "binding and loosing," and as to the right of personal free thought in all religious matters. It is also known that, at the present time, not a few who bear the name of Protestants are still held in that form of bondage. But with all such we are not now directly concerned; the "Christian thought," of whose "re-statement" we are speaking, does not include mere questions of polity. They who adhere to such views, with logical propriety hesitate to call themselves Protestants, or else they claim that, from a very early date, most of the reformed churches very far transcended the boundaries of genuine Protestantism. The typical Protestant of the times discards all magical and mystical efficacy in the sacraments, denies all priestly functions to the Christian ministry, and looks upon the visible church of Christ as only a "congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered." Their doctrinal differences with their Romanizing opponents are defined with all needed fullness in the works of the early reformers, and there is no need that they should be re-stated at the present time. The questions with which we are concerned lie in quite another direction.

The high place given to the written word by the leaders of the Reformation did not incline them to make either a god or a pope of the Bible; but, instead, they claimed for every man the right to read and interpret it with proper intellectual and spiritual freedom. Luther himself boldly reconstructed the canon, and excluded some of the books because of what they contained; and the more reverent and conservative English reformers spoke of the Bible, not as itself the divine word, but rather as "containing God's true word," and they were much more careful to guard against supplementing its lessons by anything of merely human authority than to claim for it any mystical inspiration; and all their intelligent followers in our day readily submit the written word to the findings of a reverent criticism and the decisions of rational common sense. The teachings of science and the results of critical inquiry, and, most of all, the leadings of men's religious intuitions, are, each in its way, and all unitedly, bringing the conception of evangelical Christendom respecting the Bible back to those of the early

reformers. There is no need for us, therefore, to rewrite the renewed convictions of the church on the subject, but only to return to the teachings of the fathers of the Reformation, and, with our better facilities following their methods, to seek to know what is indeed written in the book.

The "Christian beliefs," the needed "re-statements" of which we are now called to consider, are those not of all Christendom, but rather those of a school of thought which has become entrenched in the Christian consciousness of the times. The Eastern church has preserved, without any considerable modification, the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene fathers. The Western church, on the contrary, continued to take on new forms of thought, until its course was arrested by the growing authority of the hierarchy, when the discipline of Jerome, the ecclesiasticism of Cyprian, and the anthropology of Augustine became fixed and guarded as the only allowable forms of belief. The Reformation was essentially a revolt against the spiritual tyranny of the Western church, and the assertion of the rights of free thought in all matters of religion; but it began its course with the tacit acceptance of most of the principal doctrines of Roman Catholicism.

With a set of doctrines at once so incomplete in their conception and so unguarded in their statement, there was larger room for varying interpretations; and with the conceded right of free thinking and of private judgment as to the sense of the written word — its recognized and only sufficient rule of faith and practice — Protestantism assumed from the beginning a position of "unstable equilibrium," by reason of which future modifications of its doctrinal statements were assured, and stability as to the details of beliefs made impossible except by occasional re-examinations, and the elimination of everything not essential to the Christian system, with the rejection of all philosophical theories of doctrines. This last caution, however, was entirely neglected.

By virtue of their newly acquired freedom of thought, the more advanced of the reformers, not content with finding out whatever the Bible explicitly discloses, proceeded further to deduce still other points of doctrine as logical implications and inferences. Because the Bible teaches the federal relations of Adam to his posterity, through which every man partakes of the evil consequences of his transgression, it was inferred that all men are, for that offense, condemned to eternal death; and because salvation is

wholly through grace in Christ, it was inferred that men are powerless alike to help or hinder its completed results. The doctrine of justification by faith is inseparably connected with that of the reality and the intense turpitude of sin in man, entailing guilt and helplessness; and over against this the Scriptures set the work of Christ in saving men; and from this would come quite naturally the inference that, as all died in Adam, so all are made alive in Christ. But since it is certain that some are not so saved, it was further inferred that only a part of the human race are redeemed by Christ. Luther refused to follow out his own doctrinal postulates to their possible, not to say necessary, logical implications; and so he left his theological system theoretically incomplete, and some of those who were nearest to him earnestly repudiated the inferences made by others. But Calvin, with less of sentiment than of hard logic, detected the possible implications and accepted the fearful conclusion, and, rising to a lofty and sublime conception of the divine sovereignty, he contemplated the processes of the events of time as simply a predestined order, in which all that occurs is but the unfolding of God's eternal decrees. This system has the advantage of unity and completeness, and, after granting its premises, its logical self-consistency is unassailable. But even its chief promulgators pronounced it "horrible," and the Christian consciousness of the whole church rejects it.

It is the fashion of the times to denounce Calvinism, and especially so in the places where it was formerly held in the highest honor. It has almost entirely disappeared from the pulpit and from popular religious literature. It is still to be found in theological treatises, but usually marred and emasculated, and perhaps it may be discussed and presented with variations in some of our schools of theology. But it is evidently a vanishing quantity in the Christian beliefs of our times; for any doctrine, whether false or true, that ceases to be heard from the pulpit will certainly fade out of the minds of the people in the course of one or two generations. But before that process shall be completed it may be well to pause, and consider what has been the history and what is the record of the Calvinistic type of Protestantism. It was the Reformed churches of the continent, as contradistinguished from the Lutheran, that carried forward the Reformation to a stage of completeness that made both its suppression and its reconciliation with Rome impossible, even when Luther and some of his associ-

ates appeared to be more than half inclined to accept terms of accommodation. It was the progressive element among the English reformers which compelled the entire separation from Rome, and wrought into the substance of the Church of England those living evangelical doctrines which still stand as a breakwater against the incoming of the flood tide of Romanism, and which also acts as a life-giving spiritual energy. It was the source of power which in Scotland nourished successive generations of martyrs and heroes whose spirits, passing beyond the border, achieved the liberties of England, and delivered the land from civil and ecclesiastical despotism. Its history in this country has been equally honorable. The Presbyterian, the Congregational, the Reformed (German and Dutch), and the Baptist churches have together constituted a large and very wholesome contingent of the evangelical forces of the American church. These facts would seem to indicate that in the doctrinal system held in common by all these bodies are found the vital principles of spiritual and aggressive Christianity. And now that the specific and distinctive features of Calvinism are manifestly fading away from the thoughts of the evangelical churches it may not be an uncalled-for service to raise the note of warning, lest in casting off the non-scriptural elements of the system some of its precious Christian truths may also be discarded, and the wheat suffer in the removal of the tares. The changes have come about by a regular and not violent course of natural variations, and, as usual in such transformations, the changes are, no doubt, for the better.

The implication of our theme — namely, that there is a necessity for a "re-statement of the Christian beliefs" — applies especially to the doctrines of sin and salvation, as taught in the formularies of the Calvinistic churches. No such necessity is felt by the Roman Catholics, nor by the Anglicans (on either side of the ocean), nor by the Lutherans, nor by the Methodists, though all of them are somewhat affected by the movements about them. But that there have been among the former class very wide changes in doctrinal expression, and equally marked replacements in doctrinal conceptions, is everywhere manifest; nor is that fact at all a cause of reproach to those among whom these things have occurred. But this unloosing of the bonds of prescriptive authority leaves the theological belongings of a large body of advanced Christian thinkers in an unformulated, not to say chaotic, condition. Nor



can there be any doubt in respect to the point towards which opinions are tending. Perhaps it may be said that the nucleus about which the "Christian beliefs" of the near future will crystallize is already ascertained and pretty closely defined; and it may be further presumed, that, when so organized, the new creed will not be the same in all things with any of the older and historical systems of faith. It will accept the Apostles' Creed, with historic emendations and independent interpretations. It will rehearse the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, but as assenting to the substance, rather than to the form of words. It will be Augustinian just as far as Augustine is Pauline, with even Paul's statements elucidated and guarded by the wholesome lessons of Peter, James, and John. The body of divinity that shall respond to the requirements of our age will be neither Calvinistic nor Pelagian, but it will embody the distinctive elements of both these systems. It will assert and emphasize the spiritual doctrines of grace, and it will also insist upon man's free agency, effectually conditioning personal salvation. If these two seem to be logically incompatible, so much the worse for the logic. It will also earnestly hold to and emphasize the doctrine of the atonement, the expiation of man's guilt by the shedding of the blood of the Son of God, who is "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world," but it will enunciate no theory or philosophic scheme by which to expound that mystery of redemption, the substitution of the innocent for the guilty in suffering,—

How guiltless blood for guilty man was shed.

It will declare the sovereignty of the great grace that brings salvation, and couple with it man's free agency in accepting and using that grace, without attempting to explain how these two things can be reconciled. It will insist upon the very wholesome and comforting doctrine "that we are justified by faith alone" and "without the deeds of the law," and it will not fail to emphasize the truth that the faith which justifies also works by love and purifies the heart. It will teach that the life of the believer subsists by virtue of his mystical union with Christ—himself "Christ in him"—and is perpetuated by his own ever active faith. It will glorify the Father's love manifested in the gift of his Son, and, while not forgetful of his exalted majesty, will especially delight to speak of him as the God and Father of all

men. It will glorify Christ, the Son of the Father, but will especially emphasize his human sympathies, and delight in his condescending self-devotion in our behalf, constrained thereto by sovereign love. It will, more than ever before has been the case, bring the Holy Spirit into conspicuous recognition, the Giver and Sustainer of the life of God in the soul, the Teacher and Guide, the Sanctifier, and the God of all salvation. These are not new, or hitherto unrecognized doctrines, but instead they have all along been in the hearts and on the lips of God's people. The atmosphere of the Christian world is full of them. They have to a large extent replaced the dogmatizing of the schools in the Christian literature of the age, and in the teachings of the pulpit, and, best of all, in Christian communion. None of the creeds of Christendom adequately express these things, while in proportion to their exactness and fullness they cumber the spirit and circumscribe the soul's vision of faith.

But ours is not an age of creed making. It is clearly impossible at this time to produce new formularies of doctrine, like the Augsburg Confession, or that of Dort, or the Westminster. The respect demanded for free thought in the individual precludes the possibility that any one shall be required to shape his conceptions of religious truth according to any detailed scheme formed to his hand by some council or synod, and especially do the creeds of past centuries fail to answer to present demands. Nor is this freedom of thinking either the creature or the cause of any want of theological opinions. It has been demonstrated that creeds and confessions can neither ward off heresies nor shape the dogmatic conceptions of those who nominally accept them, and also that theological opinions are stable in proportion as they are free. The only practically available system of doctrines in any ecclesiastical body is and must be its unformulated consensus, — the teachings of its pulpits and Sunday schools and families, of which its unofficial utterance, through the press or by other means, becomes its effective but not arbitrarily authoritative exposition and statement. Probably no ecclesiastical body in the land would account a candidate for its ministry disqualified by an unwillingness to accept in their primary implications certain portions of almost any of the historical creeds of Protestantism; and it is quite certain that a rigid enforcement of such an acceptance would make sad havoc among the best taught and most conscientious ministers of

nearly all of the churches. The numerically largest Protestant denomination in this country has no closely defined formulary of doctrines, nor any set of documents which are assumed to embody all its articles of faith, so that so much, and no more, must be accepted as true. And yet it may be asserted that no other body is less affected by the erratic thinkings of its ministers and its members, and no others are better able to detect heretical aberrations, and to visit with the requisite corrections any who may err from the truth. The re-statement of Christian beliefs, called for in our times, is a declaration of independence of the enslaving formularies of former times — most of which were designed to meet certain local and temporary exigencies — and a return to the simpler forms of biblical teaching as interpreted by the concurrent Christian consciousness of associated believers.

There is still another department of Christian belief of our age, that is especially in an unsettled and unsatisfactory state, but of that we can now speak only very briefly and generally. It is that of eschatology, sometimes called "the doctrine of the last things." The historical creeds are all of them materialistic, often grossly so, in their forms of language and manifest conceptions respecting the future life. The popular notions respecting the resurrection of the dead and the character of "the life everlasting," which those creeds manifestly teach, have ceased to command the assent of the great body of intelligent believers. The second advent, and the millennium, and the reign of Christ on the earth in human form, are among the materialistic conceptions permeating the traditional religious thought of Protestant Christendom; but very few sober and well-taught Christian scholars can accept these things, unless so modified as to change their identity. And yet these things are closely implicated with the primary principles of a current religious anthropology, with the popular conception of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, present and prospective, and with the hopes of the gospel in respect to both the individual and the church. It is conceded by our ablest Christian scholars that our eschatology needs to be re-stated. But who shall undertake the work? and what shall be the form and contents of the reconstructed faith of the church concerning "the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter"? Evangelical Christendom awaits the outcome of these things.

PAPER BY REV. EDWIN P. PARKER, D.D.

By Christian beliefs I understand something less than the idiosyncracies of individual or sectarian belief, and something more than the few simplicities that may condition personal salvation. They are those catholic verities which constitute the prominent features of biblical doctrine and of historic Christianity, and are essential to completeness of Christian life and to the symmetry of the Christian faith. The Scriptures give no formal definitions, no logical revelation of them. God has revealed no plan for their systematic structure, nor in the Scripture quarry do we find doctrines cut and marked for position in a theological system. Of these rough stones, laid together with man's best wit and skill, filled in and fitted with such other material as seemed suitable and convenient, a succession of various doctrinal systems has been constructed, in which one traces the development of Christian doctrine, the history of theological architecture. The rudest of these systems is entitled to respect. The nobler of them move our veneration. It is a sad soul that cannot enter into the past and regard, without offense, their incongruities with modern thought, and even their grotesque gargoyles and images. And yet, it must be said of those system-builders, as Luther said of the school-divines, they "were fine and delicate wits, but they lived not in such days as we."

I. That simple fact, — "they lived not in such days as we," — which in some of its aspects has been the starting point and justification of every new doctrinal development which the history of theology describes, contains, as in a nut-shell, the whole argument for new statements of belief. It explains the various inadequacies which the lapse of time discloses in human formularies, marking them not for dishonor but for reverent revision and amendment. The men of this time may not be so wise in their generation as the men of former times were in their generations. But they are bounded by new horizons, beset with new problems, confronted with new necessities, possessed of new knowledge, methods, and instruments. They can but see how their predecessors, working under the inevitable limitations of human ignorance and infirmity, often wove together facts and opinions, truths and theories; often confounded divine realities with perverse demon-

strations and "vermiculate questions" by which, to later ages, the divine realities are obscured and discredited, if not falsified. Hence the necessity of new statements to qualify, correct, and supplement the old, according to new light and knowledge. Here are defects to be supplied, obstacles to be leveled, and crooked things to be made straight, that the way of the Lord may be prepared and his glory revealed.

Notable signs of the prevalence of this conviction may be found in the great number of local churches that are moving to revise their provincial articles of faith, in the publication of a new creed by the National Council of Congregational Churches, and in the effort of the English Presbyterians to revise or supplement their venerable confession.

But since this sort of re-statement comes to pass slowly, to the end that it may come to pass in due time, the present necessity is for that individual freedom in the re-expression of truth, to the exercise of which in the past all progress in religious thought is mainly attributable. It is necessary that in pulpit, seminaries, conferences, and councils; in books, periodicals, and newspapers; in all ways that are legitimate and by all means that are effectual, earnest endeavors be made for such a re-statement of doctrine as shall correspond to the facts of sacred history and of man's spiritual nature, that shall commend itself to fair-minded people as in accord with the simplicity that is in Christ, and that shall be "a revealing again of the gospel."

II. The proper freedom of Christian men in the church of Christ is involved in this question. It is alike the prerogative and the instinct of Christian intelligence to be ever reviewing and revising its beliefs in the light of new knowledge and in the presence of new tests. The common welfare requires perfect liberty in the exercise of this privilege. Without attempts at criticism and progress, the truth one has in hand suffers deterioration. When theology becomes merely the defense of an unalterable quantity of exact dogma, it degenerates into a dry controversial divinity, which Bishop Hampden well described as the "multiplying and rearranging of theological language." External authority takes the place of an intelligent persuasion of truth, and Christian beliefs shrivel into mere sacred relics. So true is it that doctrines are only vitally perpetuated through successive transformations in

which the substance is preserved and the power re-adjusted and multiplied.

Every great crisis in doctrinal development furnishes its warrant for this freedom. When, on July 8, 1643, the members of the Westminster Assembly severally took oath "not to maintain anything in matters of doctrine but what I think in my conscience to be truth," and then proceeded to amend the articles of the Church of England, they established, not a goal, but a precedent; they set, not a bound, but an example. But the difficulty is that afterwards convert the precedents into goals, the examples into bounds. The elaborate exposition supplants the simple creed. Thus, by an inversion of their true intention, venerable fallibilities become an image of dogmatic infallibility as pretentious as that set up in the plain of Dura. And whoever, in all the ecclesiastical realm, when the sackbut and psaltery sound the signal, fails in homage thereto, finds reporters on his track, and things made uncomfortably warm for him. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, having the real infallibility before their eyes, are in difficulty. They are too loyal to quit their posts and fly the realm. And if it be said that the fiery furnace is a good discipline for them, that hardly justifies Nebuchadnezzar. It is true of many ministers that between their terms of subscription, explicit or implicit, and the gradual unfolding of their faith disagreements have developed which occasion disquietude and constraint. A barbed-wire fence may have loop-holes, through which creatures small and sly may go and come, but its lines are drawn with an obvious intention, and upright men hate equivocation. But when we remember the ever-recurring and irrepressible conflict between human ordinances and the higher law, when we reflect that the Christian church, however named or governed, is the church of Christ, whose unwritten constitution guarantees to every member thereof liberty of the gospel, the case is not so simple as some fancy. It is doubtless better to preach with a fetter on the wrist, as St. Paul did, than not to preach at all, but better far when, stretching forth his hands, one is not compelled to add, — "except these bonds." Many things conspire to show that desirable young men are deterred from entering the Christian ministry by such considerations. The discussions of the English Presbyterians on the question of creed-revision indicate this. It is not unwillingness to wear the yoke of Christ, nor any

dread of trials that withholds them, but they shrink from unwarrantable yokes. They fear to incur that partial paralysis of manly energies which is the penalty of servility in service. They may have little faith, but like Bunyan's Little Faith, they prize their few jewels too highly to sell them as Esau did his birthright. And these men, who, with Richard Hooker, count it a degrading thing "for men to be tied and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and thought there be no reason to the contrary, not to listen to it," are not the least desirable of all for the work of Christian ministration in these unique days.

III. Christian beliefs need re statement that they may not seem at variance with the net results of intellectual development and discovery. Three specifications must suffice to illustrate this point and indicate that manifold movement of the human mind which necessitates new modes of thought and new forms of expression in theology, as in all other sciences. (a) The conceptions of God and of his government derived from the Latin church and grafted into Protestant theologies were molded and framed in the forms of a transcendent imperialism. As they were politically developed, so now are they politically discredited. The dependence of eternal truths upon the mere sovereignty of God is a doctrine of the past. The despotic idea gives way to the ethical. The long-neglected ideas of the more democratic Greek theology are being recovered, and instead of a succession of abrupt divine invasions of the world from without, men are thinking of a divine pervasion of it by whose constant influence a human history is developed. (b) Consider that word "evolution," which one everywhere meets. Its general idea has invaded every domain of human thought. Eminent theologians recognize an ally of theism in the theory which, at its first birth, was feared as a spawn of antichrist. But their ally makes conditions which must modify theistic conceptions, and incite to new investigations of God's manifold self-revelation, and revive the neglected but profoundly Christian idea of a divine education of mankind. (c) Nor can it be doubted that literary and historical criticism, with its new opportunities and apparatus, will separate from the traditional forms of belief much that has made "the historical appear unspiritual and the divine uncongenial." Dr. John Owen said that Newton's discoveries were "against evident testimonies of

Scripture." They were against traditional interpretations of Scripture, and therefore the beliefs which had been woven together with those interpretations had to be disentangled from them. The re-adjustment of beliefs is a thing with which the church has been too familiar in the past to apprehend danger from it in the future. The appearance of the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads demonstrated the necessity of some new sort of war-ship. The *Monitor* came next day to answer to that necessity. She was Captain Ericsson's re-statement of the question. And every new *Merrimac* must have its *Monitor*, which in turn must give way to some more efficient creation as new emergencies arise.

IV. Christian beliefs require re-statement that they may continue to be suitable instruments wherewith to meet the new social exigencies. The conditions of social and industrial life have been marvelously changed in a few years. Great agitations are in progress, involving conflicting interests, dangerous discontents, and socialistic tendencies. This re-arrangement of society is marked by a widespread indifference to religion, due, in some degree, to the unreality and inefficiency of Christian ministrations, and to the conservative attitude of the church as the custodian rather than the almoner of truth and grace. The crisis discloses an urgent necessity and a splendid opportunity for the revoicing of vital beliefs in new and living forms. It is high time to recur to Jesus' large idea of salvation—the idea of a kingdom of righteousness here on earth, in distinction from the narrower notion of rescuing some souls from the world's utter shipwreck. Christianity is in sympathy with all that concerns human welfare, and Christian beliefs must be stated so as to make that impression. And particularly, as against the pitiless doctrine of "the survival of the fittest" with its sanction of the destruction of the weak by the stronger, it is necessary to divest Christianity of all imperialism, and to present it to working people in its original simplicity and catholic grace; their eternal ally against oppression, their pledge of a better social state, and the one sympathetic, loving power that lightens all lowly ways, redeems poverty from shame and toil from drudgery. It is a sad fact that the religion founded by a carpenter's son, whose great apostle was a carpet weaver, whose two polar ideas are the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and one of whose shining principles is that the strong



shall bear the infirmities of the weak, has somehow come to wear a strange and unsympathetic aspect to multitudes who are striving to save themselves from being trampled underfoot in the fierce competitions of the modern struggle for existence. And this segregation of great masses of our industrial population from all religious institutions is largely attributable to the feeling, right or wrong, that those institutions are proud monuments of a past glory rather than living witnesses of a present power, that the church is chiefly concerned with matters transcending the comprehension of plain people, that in the organized Christianity of this age they have no such friend as Jesus is reported to have been to the common people of his day who heard him gladly, no such Saviour as is set forth in the figures of the Good Samaritan, the Good Shepherd, and the Great Physician. To set this down as wholly due to depravity is sheer Pharisaism. Let judgment begin at the house of God. Can the church send back to those who interrogate her claims the answer which Jesus gave to the messengers of John, — "To the poor the gospel is preached"? "To renew itself," said Renan, "Christianity has but to return to the gospel." That is the great present necessity. And that, in my opinion, involves a re-statement of Christian beliefs.

V. The history of religious thought clearly indicates this method as one of revival and reformation. In the history of all religions there is a noticeable tendency away from original simplicity. Sacerdotalism extends its functions; ceremonialism multiplies its forms; the clatter of ecclesiastical machinery increases; inherited opinions assume dogmatic form and authority, and rest like an incubus on the drowsy mind; religion separates itself from the secular life, speaks a technical language, cultivates pious proprieties, feebly considers living questions, but energetically demonstrates axioms and abstractions. Now that which has hitherto resisted this tendency to externalism, and, at intervals, has overcome it, creating new movements in Christian history, is the out-breaking of the indwelling Word in men who could no longer endure to think and speak as in bondage to the past, but must utter their new conceptions of truth in living forms of speech; men whose liberty in the gospel was not a license to speak at will, but the impulse of a new spiritual experience of which they must speak or sing in new and quickening strains. So wrought the

medieval Mystics, and the leaders of the Protestant, Puritan, Methodist, Oxford, and Evangelical movements, re-stating and re-vitalizing beliefs, bringing them near again to human nature, and into co-operation with all other living forces that work for human welfare. And so it ever is when the word of God, under the inspiration of His Spirit, finds new expression. Dreary winters give way to spring seasons with bloom and beauty, life and song.

VI. The cause of Christian unity requires this re-statement of beliefs. There has been too much said about getting down to some agreement in a few things, and too little about getting up into the unity of the faith—that unity which embraces all the parts of a higher whole. Agreement may be effected by compromises, accommodations, and suppressions, but it is agreement in part and in poverty, and cannot be enduring. We approach the unity of the faith by another method, coming to it as through the variety and multiplicity of individual discoveries and descriptions. Truth, like a globe, rests on the individual mind at one point of its sphere. And each man's faculty of apprehension is peculiar. So it is by the diversity of gifts and by the diversity of points of vision that one sees aspects of truth which escape others. Is not the method of unity obvious? We need to see as with the eyes of many others whose points of view are different, that by comparison and combination we may be better able to imagine the full-orbed truth. For it is not by ourselves alone, nor as with those of our school or sect, but it is with all saints, as in communion with them all, that we shall be able to comprehend the length and breadth and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. Not in that temple whose windows are uniformly figured and colored, so that the inshining light reveals one pattern only, but in the cathedral whose windows have each its own emblems, pictures, legends, and colors through which the light streams with Apocalyptic splendor,—as though God had chosen human art instead of language whereby again to reveal his word,—do I find the type of the Christian church, by whose manifold testimonies, illumined by the spirit of truth, the unity of the faith is revealed and illustrated. Thus discerning the proportions of faith and their relative values, we shall the more readily perceive what notes require accent, and on

what points emphasis must be laid, in order to a common symbol of confession. Thus, too, shall we more clearly see and gratefully acknowledge that the fundamental notes of the Christian faith are nowhere else so distinctly and harmoniously sounded, as in that ancient and matchless symbol which Martin Luther believed to be the work of the Holy Ghost. In its brevity, simplicity, and comprehensiveness; in its matter of fact, form, and fullness; in its exclusion of all but catholic verities; in the singing quality of its single notes, and in their hymnic harmony; in its indestructible vitality and perennial bloom, the Apostles' Creed not only differs from all dogmatic creeds, but is supreme above them all in authority as in excellence. It is the great doxology in which "with all saints," not only those of a particular time on earth, but of all ages, and with the whole family that in heaven and on earth is named in Christ, we unite in the melodious confession of the common faith. This is the type and model of all new statements of belief. God speed the day when it shall become again, as by right it is, the common confession of Christendom, the one supreme symbol of the Holy Catholic Church.

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ADDRESS BY REV. REUBEN JEFFERY, D. D.

I labor under the embarrassment of being called upon to offer a few extemporaneous remarks. Though I suppose I was at liberty to write out some statements of what I had to say, I felt that possibly I should be embarrassed by the fact that I had written what would perhaps be anticipated by other speakers or writers, and that I should find myself wedded to forms of thought and expression that would only hamper me in my utterance. I therefore shall say to you simply what may present itself as the result of thinking and of the suggestions thrown out in the statements and essays to which you have listened. I wish to have it understood that in what I have to say, I represent no denomination. I belong to a denomination that allows each man

to speak for himself. And yet I trust I may be able to represent the larger definition of the Christian church—that holy catholic church that takes into its embrace all who love our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I am embarrassed about the word that is used in the statement of the proposition which we are discussing this morning. "The necessity for a re-statement of Christian beliefs." What are we to understand by "necessity"? Is it an absolute necessity? Is it a necessity in order to the perpetuity of Christian truth and the church of the living God? Nay, verily! I apprehend if it could be proven that the great statements which have so long controlled the thought of Christendom were far more faulty than many now conceive them to be, there is a vital energy in Christianity, there is a power in the living Christ, there is a regnancy in the power of the Holy Spirit, there is a definiteness in the purposes of that God who rules and reigns and will accomplish his end until the grand consummation of the Redeemer's triumph, that will assure the perpetuity of Christian truth, the perpetuity of the Christian church, despite every imperfection that may be within it, and despite every assault that may be made against it. If you mean by "necessity" some provision to preserve the vital forces of Christianity, I am free to say that there is no such necessity. If by the word "necessity" you mean to convey the idea that a re-statement is necessary in order to give greater energy and efficiency to the forces of the Christian church as grand evangelizing agencies, I might, perhaps, admit its truth with some modification. Nevertheless, I think we must all feel that we to-day are living in an age in which the church of Christ, in all its varied branches, is becoming vitalized with a mighty energy; that it is waking up to the grand thought that this world belongs to Christ; that it is proving its own Christlike energy, as in no previous age, by its warm-hearted sympathy with all forms of human interest, by its readiness to alleviate all phases of human suffering, and by the mighty passion that is moving the varied orders of the Christian church with an impulse to go to the ends of the earth, and, in the spirit of that self-sacrifice which brought Jesus from the skies, proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ to all men. I believe that wherever Christian denominations are planted they are honored of God, and that they are con-

tributing largely to the coming of that day when all forms of an adverse civilization shall become obsolete, when heathenism shall disappear and this vast world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. So that, if you mean by the word "necessity" either of these ideas, certainly it must be taken in a modified sense. I do not know but that the committee would have preferred the word "desirable" or "important." But, at any rate, if you mean by that form to express this idea of the statement or proposition, there come to our minds many reasons — potent reasons — why the whole creed of Christendom should be revised. The other speakers, in eloquent terms, which I cannot dare to emulate, have traversed this whole ground; and yet I do not apprehend that if we should make the attempt to formulate to-day a Christian creed, it would be practicable to gain for it the consent of all the varied thinkers and all the varied denominations to which they belong. Nor do I think it desirable; for I believe it would result in a dead uniformity, and, with dead uniformity, the revival of that spirit of intolerance which for so many ages controlled — nay, deadened — the thought of the Christian world, and would plunge it back into midnight darkness.

It is a necessity of the human mind that men when they come to formulate philosophy should think differently. We have it illustrated in all other forms of knowledge. Doctors, for example, while they agree as to certain facts, necessarily differ as to their explanation. Science presents a two-fold form of progress and change. Scientists are evermore multiplying and enlarging their facts, and modifying their philosophies by the discovery of other facts. And so in legislation. Even in so simple an instrument as our Constitution, great men differ as to the meaning that may belong to it. And the same principle enters into the discussion of all questions of religious truth.

I suppose we may take it for granted that we all stand on one common platform — we are all prepared to take the word of God, the Bible, as the ultimate appeal of all Christian believers, as the one standard by which we are to be controlled and governed. I have occasionally met men, and women too, in all denominations (because, after all, you cannot make men larger than God made them, and you cannot give them ideas that never could possibly enter their heads; we may talk as much as we please, but the

die is on them; they live it out and die in it)—I have seen men of this type strut upon the platform of their little, narrow creeds and sects and say, "*We—we—we* are the temple of God; *we* appeal to the Bible." I never have been so provoked as sometimes when I have been talking with a man, and trying to get into his head some new idea, and he has said, "Well, *I* go to the Bible." Now, I simply say that I hold it is a travesty, no matter whether it has been uttered by men of the denomination to which I belong or any other, and an insult to the grand consciousness of the Church of Christ, for any of us to assume the proposition that we alone contain all the truth, and that all others in differing from us have proclaimed themselves disloyal to the word of God.

Let me confine myself, in this aspect of my thought, to just one line of illustration. I say that differences of opinion as to the meaning of the Scriptures are a necessity; a necessity, first of all, growing out of the various orders in the constitution of the human mind. Men will view truth through their own lenses; and men are more or less affected by the limitation of their powers—one logical, rigidly so, as Calvin; another full of the impulses of a generous sympathy; one a genius who looks at truth through the atmosphere of his imagination; another, a man who looks at it through his Christian affections. Then again, as the last speaker so eloquently said, the question for us is of our age. The men of the past wrought grandly for the age in which they lived. That is to say, they had to meet special and local problems, and they articulated on those, perhaps to the overlooking of others. This is largely illustrated in the history of the Reformation. Luther became aroused to a conception of one or two vital, grand truths, which he conceived had been overlooked or perverted under the training of the age; but when he proposed to start out with a new formulation he could not help carrying over into his system many of the prejudices, many of the institutions, many of the convictions which he had inherited from the mother church; and with him went all his followers. And there have been others since; so that you have your church of Scotland, and your church of England, and your church of Germany, and all the churches named for the country where they originated or the issues out of which they sprang.

But the reason why it is desirable and necessary to formulate a

new creed to-day is that the standards which control the Christian church to-day, or, rather, the statements which would be accepted by any historian as representing the creed of to-day, are obsolete. The old creeds do not represent the thought of the present age. They discuss questions which were alive and vital once, but which have ceased to be alive and vital now. They proclaim certain common truths which are eternal and which will go on, ever enlarging in their statement, clearer in their presentation, freer in their utterance, more mighty in their force. The "heart creed" of which Dr. Curry spoke, with its common principles, the creed which is impressed upon the consciousness of the soul by the living Spirit of God, the creed which grows out of the deep experiences of our own needs as sinners and of the life-giving power of an atoning Christ, the creed which quickens all hearts with the impulses of the constraining love of Christ — that creed is eternal; that creed can never become obsolete. But when you come to the items that grow out of the philosophies that were intruded and forced into the Christian church, when you come to those traditions that were carried over from Judaism into Christianity, when you come to those superstitions that were a graft from paganism, I say that in so far as those bad elements tended to give form to the standards of our truth three or four hundred years ago, we have largely outgrown them; they do not represent us. Do you deny that? Do you take issue with me on that? Very well. Let any ordinary men, in any of our churches, stand up and tell us what they think of the doctrines of sovereignty and of free agency, what they think of any other of the questions that have divided the Christian church, and over which they have fought, and in the fundamentals of which they have glared at each other, and in which they have maintained that their own peculiar notions were essential to salvation, and I will venture to say that they are not aware that these statements are in the creeds, that they do not understand them, or if they understand them, do not believe them. I think that is true. They are no longer vital forces. They are no longer convictions that stir their hearts and determine their conduct. I simply feel that we need a creed, therefore, that shall relieve us of the necessity of subscribing to philosophies that we do not understand and to statements that we are not prepared to accept.

Then, again, I think that a re-statement should be made, even though the necessity is not on us, and even though it may not be immediately practicable. That which shows it to be a proximate necessity is the fact that the very spirit of loyalty to the word of God demands it. Remember that for fifteen hundred years the word of God had been bound; and even if it had not been bound, remember that the people could not have read it if it had been in print. For fifteen centuries mankind, from the necessities of their abject condition, had to get along without a creed that had passed through their own convictions and been formulated by their own understandings; and I think it is a tribute due to the Roman Catholic church, to say that with all its abuses it rendered to Christianity and to the world an inestimable blessing in holding in the alembic of its own formulas, and perhaps mistaken statements, those vital truths which preserved their force until the vase of that crusted and formal system was broken, and the fragrance of the divine life that was in it was diffused through the world. When Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, Calvin, and Knox, and all those men, were called upon to formulate a statement of Christian faith, society was in a great revolutionary seethe; issues of ten thousand varieties were uppermost in their minds, and they were compelled to formulate creeds hastily and in the presence of an imperfect transcript of God's own word, interpreting that word in the light of previous prepossessions. But we of to-day live in an age in which criticism has done a grand work. We have recently come into possession of newly discovered texts of the original Scriptures, going back almost to apostolic times. And now, mark you, there is not a man who has a modern commentary and an honest one — and thank God, there are some men that dare to be honest in this day — there is not a man, when he comes to take one of the proof-texts set down at the end of an article to prove that this or that particular doctrine is true, but is liable to find that the exegete or translator takes the wind all out of it — it does not have any such meaning at all; and he refuses to quote it in support of the article which was made dependent upon it. Now this is a serious fact; it is an important fact. You stand up to explain one of these formulas or standards, and you turn around to see what the honest and intelligent interpreter says the proof-text means in the original, and especially in the corrected



original, and you find it does not mean any such thing as the formula states; there is no such thought in it.

But I have indicated perhaps enough on this line.

Instead of fighting each other as enemies, we ought to love each other as brothers. Oh, let us have a heart-creed—a creed that shall simply recognize my helplessness and my Christ, and give me the faith that works by love to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in fellowship—love to all for whom Christ died as my fellow men. That is all the creed I want. But it will deprive infidelity of many of its weapons of assault. Ingersoll will lose all his thunder the moment the church is no longer called upon to defend obsolete formulas of belief; his grand occupation of denouncing Christianity at a dollar a head will be gone.

I believe that we are coming into the Johannic age. We have had the Jacobean and the Petrine periods in the Middle Ages, in the Roman Catholic Church. We have had the Pauline period in the bristling up of individual thought and the grand assertion of the individual responsibility of each man to God and to God alone; and in that assertion of conscious responsibility you have these varieties of thought and belief. But we are coming to that grand Johannic period in which we shall find that all creeds answer their purpose and realize their mission in bringing God's people into the blessed atmosphere of divine love, in binding our hearts in that blessed bond that shall be the type and pledge of the one church of Jesus Christ, glorified, washed, and presented without spot or wrinkle before the throne of God.

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ADDRESS BY REV. OTIS A. GLAZE BROOK.

I am very sure that when I tell you I have been traveling for the last sixteen hours upon the Erie railway, I shall have your sympathy. I am rather shaken up, and I am afraid that my ideas are also. Still, I am here to-day because I am in profound sympathy and love with the cause represented by this assembly, and I

have come because I should like to say a few words at least on the question which is now engaging our attention. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is nevertheless true in this case that in a comparatively young man you see a very "old fogey." Christ working for men, sympathizing with men, living for men, dying for men—this Christ is Christianity, pure and simple. From this point there have been two distinct developments—practical Christianity, which is living Christ, and dogmatic Christianity, which is definite, philosophic statement about Christ. Now, I want to see as much as possible of the former, and as little as may be of the latter.

Into every form of creed there must enter two factors—an objective element and a subjective element. The objective element is a constant quantity; the subjective is variable. The objective part is a summary of the impression we get of Christ, as to his person and work and nature, from the word of God, just as we find it expressed in that word; the subjective part of the creed is that part which is influenced by the prejudices, ecclesiastical opinions, surroundings, and necessities of the time, which affect men in their views and in their training. In this subjective part of a statement is to be found its danger. We shall have no trouble about the objective part; it will probably always be the same. Indeed, belief in Christ simply means belief in his person. Why can we not be content to say that Jesus Christ is the Son of God? Why can we not leave out the subjective element entirely, and go back to that one belief which at one time was accepted by all Christians?

Who will make this re-statement? Which of the bodies of Christians represented here to-day will be authorized to make this re-statement? Where is to be the ultimate authority which, ex-cathedra-like, shall state fully and authoritatively what shall be in the creed? It is almost impossible to imagine any body of men carrying with them sufficient authority to speak with such power and with such certainty as shall make their statements at once acceptable to Christendom; if we go into a re-statement of creeds, we shall have more creeds than we have now. Every church will have its creed. Not only every church, but every school in every church, will try to get its peculiar views expressed in that creed. What will be the outcome of this? Confusion worse confounded.

We are confounded enough now. I am thankful, indeed, for one reason, that I am not a member of the Anglican Church rather than the Episcopal Church of America — because I am not compelled to repeat four times a year the Athanasian Creed. I do not want to repeat it once. I do not understand it. There is discussion about at least one statement in the Nicene Creed, which is very much simpler. And what shall be said when you get to the Westminster Confession? I suppose that some of these brethren before me have been raised upon that confession. I, for one, cannot accept it in all its parts. And when I read the advocates of the new theology — and I read them with great admiration and great interest (for I have no sympathy with that spirit of the past or of the present which would trammel free research, which would castrate the resultants of its splendid efforts, or turn a deaf ear to the demonstration of its accomplished facts; I have no sympathy, I say, with that spirit which would repress inquiry) — but when I read such writers I do not hesitate to say that the spirit of inquiry should ventilate itself in the field of theology, and not insist upon enforcing its views in creed shape, making the new creed the foundation of the belief of the church.

I do not believe that we ought to touch creeds unless there is great necessity for it. I wish there was but one creed. I regret that there ever has been more than one. I should be willing to-day to break up all the creeds, and go back to the simple expressions contained in the Apostles' Creed. But, since we have forms of belief, and since they have become inwrought into the structure of our men and women and of our churches, let us touch them very carefully, if we touch them at all. I am in favor, I say, of the destructive principle — breaking them up, doing away with them, instead of adding to them. If there is to be any re-statement, let it be in that direction. In any case, let it be done with great care.

And why do I say so? Because it is fraught with great danger. We speak of one class of men whom we should consult — the advanced thinkers, men who now make fun of us, like Ingersoll and others. Why, they will always make fun of us, any way, whatever we may do. But there is a large number of earnest, godly men; there is a large number of most pious, excellent women; there is a large number of thoughtful, earnest, devoted

children. What will be the effect upon this great and important part of Christendom if we alter the creed? Is not their faith worth regarding? Do you say it is ignorance on their part, and we should not countenance it? May be not. May be not. Read the new views that are advanced in regard to the atonement; the new views that are advanced in regard to the incarnation; the new views in regard to eschatology. Are they any clearer or better than the old views? Certainly there is an advance, so far as the inspiration of the word of God is concerned. I heartily agree with the eloquent outburst of my dear brother who has just spoken, in regard to the great good that has been done in taking the shackles from the word of God and allowing it to go forth on its true and grand mission. Let us have as much of that unshackling as possible. Let us have all the freedom possible. But let us be careful, in the exercise of that freedom, not to do anything that will tend to unsettle the faith and disturb the belief of a very large part of Christendom. I believe that any re-adjustment of the creeds of Christendom will be attended with great danger, with a vast unsettling of the faith of believers. It may not go to the extent of an earthquake, but there will be a tremendous rumbling, and there will be more harm done than all the good that can possibly result will counterbalance.

Our advanced men, our intellectual men, if you choose, know how to make full allowance for these things. They understand the difficulties under which the present creeds labor. They themselves are Christians. They may feel, indeed, very keenly, as many of us feel who would not have a change except in the direction of a return to the primitive creed, that some things could be re-adjusted. But they can afford to wait. This higher element should be magnanimous. And, then, the church is doing a grand work with the creeds as they are. Opposers it has, and opposers it will always have. But the trouble is not with the head; it is with the heart. I tell you, it is not the mysteries of our faith that cause opposition; it is the passions of men. It is not our deep places, but our holy places, which make men uncomfortable, which lead men who are not Christians to abuse and assault and assail the churches; and they will always do it as long as those holy places are about the church.

The church, for effective work, does not need much creed

statement. Look at St. Paul. He only thought it necessary to believe in one thing — the cross of the crucified Redeemer. That was all he wanted. Hear him say, as he contemplates his visit to Rome, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation." What did he have before him there? The scorn and derision of the schools of philosophy and the teachers of that day; and yet he met this scorn and this derision with that poor, mean, and simple instrument, the cross of the crucified Redeemer. Was not that doctrine foolishness to the Greek, who was the embodiment of the intellectuality of his day, and a stumbling-block to the Jew? And will not the cross of Christ ever be so — make your creeds as you choose? It is not the pureness of its theism or the perfectness of its morality that can account for the change in Saul of Tarsus; nor is it these things to-day that will accomplish the change of the world to Christ. Nobody questions the advantage of a pure theism; nobody underrates the perfectness of a system based upon morality and upon the grand teachings of the word of God; but, after all, the aggressive work for the church and for Christ must be done by a few simple doctrines; yea, it must be done by one doctrine, and that is, the cross of our crucified Redeemer. So, I say, the church is effective enough as it is. There is no necessity for a change because we are not efficient in our work, because we are not doing a good work, are not extending our benevolent influences to heathen lands. Never was the church as aggressive; never was it more productive of good works. Why, this very gathering shows it. This unity of Christian men in the bonds of Christian love — is not this a grand thing? Is not this a marvelous advance upon the past? The church is doing as much as could be expected of her.

What do the people know about the philosophic statements of creeds? What do the masses care about them? The truth will prevail. We cannot keep the truth from prevailing. Let men write books. There are grand books being written. Who does not enjoy reading that book, *The Freedom of Faith*? Who is not delighted with *Progressive Orthodoxy*? Many things in these books call forth from me a hearty response. Let them work out their own ends. Let men who love speculation, men who traffic in the province of thought as others traffic in the province

of trade, go on along their respective lines; let them throw all the light they can upon Christian truth; let them bring all their mighty intellect and magnificent word-painting and power to the elucidation and setting forth of the truth; but magazines, and newspapers, and books are the places for this manifestation, not the creeds.

But there is another reason, a final one, and, I take it, an unanswerable one, why there is no present necessity for a re-statement of the creeds of Christendom. What have you to put in the place of them? Are the advocates of the new theology ready to put their opinions into our present creeds? Are they settled as to their views of the incarnation? Are they agreed as to the exact meaning of the atonement? Have they no doubts on eschatology? By their own confession, the time has not come for a re-statement of Christian beliefs. One of their writers says, "It would be premature." Another one says, "It would tend to cramp research, would do more harm than good, if this view should prevail now." They yield the point themselves. If we were to grant that it is desirable to have the creeds reformed or recast, could it be done? Would it be possible in the presence of the light we now have? Would it be possible in view of the want of agreement now existing among men upon this point? Even granting that there is a necessity, the reason amounts to nothing, because we are not prepared to make the change. These discussions will do good. Discussions all do good. The time may come, since corporate bodies demand creeds—demand the subjective part, I am sorry to say, more than the objective part—the time may come when, from the force of education and the force of training, we may be compelled to yield to this pressure brought upon us. But the time has not come yet.

My feeling is very much like that of the old Spartan who, when he was asked to go and hear a famous singer, said, "I have heard the nightingale." A man who has sat at the feet of Jesus, and has heard the divine symphony of heaven, is very restless, very uncomfortable, and very dissatisfied, at hearing harmonies less divine—artistic, beautiful and accurate as their chords may be. Let me sit at the feet of Jesus, rather than at the feet of any Gamaliel, of the first or even of the nineteenth century. Let me get the inspiration of my life from him, not from man-made

creeds. Let us meet the want of the world to-day not by giving it creeds. It is crying for bread, and do we propose to give it a stone? The great need of the world to-day is not creeds; it is sympathy; it is the love of Christ manifested in the daily walk; it is the kind word, the charitable judgment, the self-sacrificing life. It is not simply expressing a belief in Christ; it is doing the will of Christ on earth. It is going about as Christ did, making our Father's business our meat and drink continually.

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SPEECH BY ELDER WILEY JONES.

The question before us to-day may well excite much interest in the minds of all Christians: "The necessity for a re-statement of Christian beliefs." The first thought that strikes me as implied in that is that Christian belief has at some time ceased to be stated. That of itself should alarm us, when we consider that the Lord has appointed his living church to voice Christian belief constantly. I suppose there can be no doubt in the minds of this audience — and I take it for granted that this is a select audience, made up of persons who feel a deep interest in the prosperity of the church of Christ, in the advancement of true religion, or you would not have left your places of business to attend this Congress at this time in the week — I suppose there can be no doubt in the minds of such a congregation that it is the duty of the church continually to state Christian belief. If you have any shadow of doubt on that point, I would beg leave to call your attention to what Jude says, in the third verse of his epistle. He says, "Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." Now, if there is still a necessity for this which the church, eighteen hundred years ago, was urged to do, it implies that some how or other we have ceased

to state Christian belief. That, I say, is an alarming position to find ourselves in, and we naturally inquire, "What shall we do?" With Peter, we ask, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." If we want to re-state Christian belief, we must go to the Bible. "The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." So we profess, and so I believe.

In order to know, then, whether there is a necessity, and how much necessity there is, for re-stating Christian beliefs, we must find out from the Bible what Christian belief is. We cannot find it from any other source, satisfactorily. And when we ascertain from the Bible what Christian belief is, and compare it with our present belief, then we shall be able to decide whether there is a necessity for re-stating it. If we find that we have departed from the sacred, golden measurement laid down for us in the word of God, then we know that there is a necessity for us to return to the original, apostolic order of things. The Apostle John says, "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son." That is Christian belief — "the doctrine of Christ." And if we want to find the doctrine of Christ, we have again to appeal to the Bible, and to the Bible alone. In the first chapter of Mark, fourteenth verse, we read, "Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God." And in the eighth chapter of Luke, first verse, we read, "And it came to pass afterward, that he went throughout every city and village preaching and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God." That, then, is the doctrine of Christ. "Whosoever," says the apostle, "hath not this hath not God." One of the apostles, after the ascension of our blessed Lord to heaven, went from Jerusalem down to Samaria, and preached there, and the record says, in the eighth chapter of the Acts, twelfth verse, "When they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women." By harmonizing these things, we discover that the doctrine of Christ consists of the things concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ. Then it should be our duty to search the Scriptures, and find what the Bible says about the kingdom of God. I cannot give you the proof texts now in this



brief address; but we shall find these things to be true: that the kingdom of God will be on earth; "Thy kingdom come"; "his kingdom shall be from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth"; that it will be eternal; "the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ"; that the righteous alone will inherit it: — "For the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God"; that those who inherit it must become immortal: — "For flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God"; that their immortality is only obtained through the Lord Jesus Christ; for if we obtain it, Paul says, we must "seek for it, by patient continuance in well doing"; and that it will be put on "at the resurrection of the just." We learn from the text cited from the eighth chapter of the Acts, that they believed these things first, and "were baptized, both men and women."

So, dear friends, if you find that this is so, and you find that we have not been stating this belief all along, then there is evidently a necessity for going back to it. There is no use in lighting a lamp, if it is already burning at its full brightness. The topic implies that there is a supposition somewhere that the light has gone out, and that there is a necessity for relighting it. Then let us rekindle the fires of apostolic truth from the Bible, and the Bible only.

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#### SPEECH BY REV. B. B. TYLER.

A short time since, Mr. Joseph Cook, from the platform of Tremont Temple, propounded a conundrum: "What saves? and why?" I propose to suggest a change in Mr. Cook's conundrum. Instead of "What saves? and why?" I would say, Who saves? and how? It is not faith in a creed that brings salvation from sin. It is not faith in articles, in dogmas, in propositions, be they ever so true, which unites the soul in a loving fellowship with Christ. We must not lose sight of this fact. We all agree to it, and yet, in our attempt to make a re-statement of belief, we are in danger of making the impression on the minds of people who

hear us, "These things you must receive, on pain of eternal damnation." I can pretty nearly, but not quite, agree with the brother who has just taken his seat. He almost said that the Bible is the creed of Protestantism — the creed of Christianity. Christianity existed before the New Testament. Christ founded his church, not on a book, nor on a statement, nor on a series of statements, but on himself. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid which is Jesus Christ."

If I were asked to deal honestly and sincerely, and speak my bottom thought concerning the matter, if you were to confront me with the question, Has the time come for a re-statement of Christian beliefs? I would say, No, not that exactly; but the time has come for breaking up and destroying and casting away all old beliefs; the time to go back through the ages, beyond Oxford, beyond Westminster, beyond Rome, back, and back, and back, to the Galilean hills, and, sitting at the feet of Jesus, to receive our faith from him. One of the brethren said, that, though comparatively a young man, he was an "old fogey." I am as old a fogey, my brother, as you are on that matter. Let us be satisfied with faith in Christ, and let us be satisfied with urging this upon the attention of the people as the means of securing salvation, in the world that now is and in the world to come.

I do not believe that an opinion concerning Christ is the faith that saves. I do not speak excitedly or extravagantly when I say that a man may, with the New Testament open before him, cite book and chapter and verse, and accept the divine statements concerning Jesus as historic verities, every one of them, first, each, last, without an exception, and still go through life unsaved, and stand before the judgment throne at last to be condemned. He may accept those statements only as historic. He may accept those statements only as portions of a theory. This does not bring deliverance from sin. It is the loving surrender of the heart in holy, unreserved confidence to the Lord Christ — that is the creed that saves; that is the faith that brings deliverance; and naught else will.

"But," you ask, "suppose a man accepts Christ, surrenders to him, and publicly declares his faith in him?" I would baptize him, and receive him into the fellowship of the church without delay. "But he does not understand the questions connected

with the Pentateuch." I don't care. "He does not understand the Book of Job. He does not know who wrote Ecclesiastes. He does not understand the composition of the Old Testament." I don't care. Does he lovingly cleave to Christ? Is he determined to follow him. Does he forsake all others, and swear allegiance only to the King of kings and Lord of lords? That is right. That is enough.

"But do you object to making a statement of belief for the information of the people?" I do not object to making a statement of my understanding, of my opinion. Our confessions of faith are rather confessions of opinion than confessions of faith, after all. I would not object to making a confession of my opinion, or my understanding concerning Christianity in its relation to this question or to that, concerning the duty of Christianity towards this problem, or that, or the other. But I would protest, with all the earnestness of my soul, against binding this statement on any human being as a condition of entrance into the church, or of the enjoyment of fellowship with the saints.

## FOURTH DISCUSSION.

TOPIC: THE WORKING-MAN'S DISTRUST OF THE  
CHURCH; ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

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PAPER BY REV. WAYLAND HOYT, D.D.

Is there such distrust? Looking immediately about myself, I should say no. I am most glad and thankful to be able to declare that in the congregation to which it is my privilege to minister, a large company of the wage-earners of both sexes are constant worshippers. If I extend my view in certain directions I should still say no. Seeking light upon the subject of this paper, I asked, not long since, a gentleman — one of the heads of one of the largest and most widely known manufacturing establishments in the entire country — “Why do working-men distrust the church?” “Do you not beg the question when you make such an inquiry? I am confident a very large majority of the men at work in our shops are steady attendants upon the churches,” was his reply. And this reply I found abundantly corroborated by information gathered in the shops themselves. “How about the men whom you employ and whom you know of in your line of work; do they distrust the church?” I asked of a head carpenter, sometime since. “My men and the men in that line of work, I know,” he answered, “are, as a usual thing, even enthusiastic supporters of the churches.” I turn to the testimony of Mr. John Jarrett, at that time president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States, given in 1885 before the Congressional committee on the relations between capital and labor. The Hon. Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, the chairman of the committee, asks Mr. Jarrett this question: “I would like to know to what extent what we call evangelical Bible influences dominate or obtain in the rituals of trades

unions and in the moral lessons and principles which they inculcate. Are they antagonistic to the drift of evangelical doctrines generally?" This is Mr. Jarrett's answer: "As far as our organization is concerned they are in perfect accord. We had a convention in Philadelphia a few weeks ago, and I would venture to assert that seven-eighths of those who were present in that convention were men who were connected with Christian churches." "How much of a convention was that?" "I believe the number of delegates was one hundred and eighty-six." "Were these delegates from a large extent of territory?" "Yes, sir; from Portland, Me., down as far as St. Louis." "Do you mean that those delegates represent practically the whole country from the Atlantic to the Mississippi?" "Yes, sir."

Far out in the utterly untamed wilds of the Northwest I was chased once by a great black dog, which, under the circumstances, I had every reason for believing a grizzly bear. Supposing the creature to be a bear, I ran from him, until I discovered that he was a very noble and faithful dog. Subjectively I know what it is to be chased by a bear. Objectively my bear was the grandest specimen of a helper and protector for that region. Is it not possible that in the universal agitation concerning labor questions, mistakes and exaggerations equally unwise and untrue may be fallen into? Is it not possible that the unqualified statement of the question which has been assigned me, with the wording of which I had nothing to do, is itself a quite evident instance of such mistake and exaggeration? I am sure it is not true that all working-men distrust the church, as the topic assigned me seems to imply. "Some working-men's distrust of the church" would be a statement much closer to the facts. By no means yet are labor and religion altogether in declared divorce. They never will be.

But, on the other hand, it must be said that on the part of a large number of working-men (as in these days, in a fashion most unfortunate and in exact clash with the real spirit of our institutions, we are getting to designate a certain class of workers) there is a widespread distrust of the church. In a communication addressed to the *Homiletic Monthly*, published in the number for August, 1884, Mr. John Swinton says: "I do not think that one-tenth of the wage-earning classes in New York believe in Christianity at all." I cannot help thinking that statement a

gross exaggeration. But let it go for what it may be worth. In the examinations on the relations between labor and capital by the Congressional committee, which I have before mentioned, occur the following questions and answers. Mr. Edward King of New York, who is a type-founder, and who declares himself very largely connected with labor associations, is asked by the Hon. Mr. Blair: "What proportion of the people in New York city, in your judgment, attend religious services on the Sabbath?" "I have not the slightest idea." "Of the working people what proportion?" "I have not the slightest idea. The working people that are active in the labor movement may be fairly charged, I think, with being very bad church attendants." During that same examination Mr. P. H. McLogan, a printer of Chicago, is asked by the Hon. James Z. George of Mississippi: "What church accommodations are there in Chicago for the working people?" "The accommodations in Chicago, so far as the working people are concerned — well, in fact, the laboring men, judging from my personal observation, do not go to any church in Chicago, except the Catholic church. I have attended quite a number, the Congregational, the Unitarian, and other churches, and from my observation of the people in attendance there, and their dress and general appearance, I should judge that there were no laboring men among them at all. I think that the American mechanics do not attend at all, at least in the city of Chicago." Mr. McLogan goes on to say: "Take the Bohemians, the German element, the Poles—who are a very large percentage in Chicago—and you will find that they have generally drifted into free thinking and atheism, and a great many into socialism, and have very little faith in the power of the church to cure any of the evils under which people may suffer, either in this world or in the world to come." The editor of a very influential magazine published in New York city—*Harpers' Monthly*—quotes this from a member of the working classes in that city: That "not one in fifty of his associates attends church; that church, religion, God, Christianity, stand to the laborers for everything that is mean, hateful, and tyrannical." And this editor further says that in response to questions personally put by himself, "nearly a score of representative business and lay professional men, whose opportunities for observation were especially good, testified with great

unanimity, over their own names, that a radical change has taken place during the last few decades; that the mass of mechanics and laboring people have lost faith in the church and turned their backs upon it; that the present methods of church work do not reach or in any degree affect them; and that a feeling of bitterness and hostility toward the church is growing up among them."

While there may be some exaggeration in these representative statements here swiftly adduced, it is certain that it cannot be denied that there is a very large and solemn and shadowing element of truth in them. I have read of a certain painter who, having painted his picture, discovered that the rocks in the landscape he had endeavored to portray were not at all in his picture as they were in the landscape. Therefore, instead of changing his picture, he would seek to change the rocks. So with spade and crowbar, and strain and breathless tug, he vainly strives to wrench the rocks into conformity with his picture. We may not in the egotistic glow of a too enthusiastic religious optimism seek to do likewise. The rocks are there, and they will not conform to the picture we would like to paint. There is on the part of a large army of working-men a very real distrust of the church.

And now for the causes of this distrust. There is, among I know not how large, but certainly among a considerable section of working-men, a cause *doctrinal*. Such stand against everything the church stands for. It is both natural and inevitable, therefore, that on their part toward the church there should be distrust. In a pamphlet by Professor Richard T. Ely of the Johns Hopkins University, entitled *Recent American Socialism*, is to be found the result of a most fair-minded and clear-seeing scholar's investigations. Professor Ely tells us that there are in this country two parties of the socialists—the one, the "Socialistic Labor Party," and the other, the "International Working-men's Association," or (another name to designate the same thing) "The International Working People's Association." The first is the more moderate wing of the socialists; is dubbed frequently "the Blues"; is composed of better educated and more refined men, and does not advise violent methods. The second are the anarchists; they exult in the waving of the red flag, their implement is dynamite, their evangel, the most chaotic and immediate destruction. Says Professor Ely: "Both parties are materialists, though the ma-

terialism of the Socialistic Labor Party is less gross than that of the Internationalists. Having abandoned the hope of a happy hereafter, they imagine that this earth ought to be a paradise. They talk of its beauties and of the soul-satisfying delights of life, from all of which they are debarred by a conspiracy of the rich, or at least by existing economic conditions. They accept the designation 'godless,' and claim that the visible universe is the only God which they know, falling thus into a kind of materialistic pantheism." Of the anarchic wing of the socialistic movement, which Professor Ely considers by far the more numerous and controlling, he says these are their ideals: "Common property; socialistic production and distribution; the grossest materialism, for their god is their belly; free love; in all social arrangements perfect individualism, or in other words, anarchy. Negatively expressed: Away with private property! away with all authority! away with the state! away with the family! away with religion!"

Now it goes without saying that as far as working-men have become infected with ideas materialistic, sensual, godless, like these — whether they class themselves with the wing of the socialistic party less violent, or more violent, there must be on their part toward the church distrust. For the church is against them utterly, and must be against them. Though it may oppose them kindly, it must firmly. Here, as between the church and them, there are, in no wise, two sides to the same shield. They are different shields.

Another cause upon which I have come in my investigations concerning the subject of this paper is the *time* cause. Let me detail a conversation I had not long since with a man who was proud to call himself a working-man, one of the best possible types of working-men our American institutions foster, a man rarely intelligent and deeply thoughtful, no sloven, no garrulous grumbler, a God-fearing, earnest church member and Sabbath-school teacher, a man whose acquaintance is for any one both a privilege and an honor. But as I sat with him in his shop, amid the clang of hammers and the multitudinous noises of a mighty industry, it was somewhat after this fashion that he spoke with me: "A man who works at such toil as this, ten hours a day, sixty hours a week, week in, week out, finds himself, when at last Saturday night has rolled around, excessively wearied. Besides,



during all the week various odds and ends have been accumulating in the family, which must be attended to on Saturday night. Shoes and clothing must be gotten for the children; the man and his wife must visit the markets to make the weekly wages go as far as possible. There are innumerable little matters to be looked after. It is a rare thing if this tired man gets to bed on Saturday night much before twelve o'clock. Sunday morning is the only morning on which he is not compelled to rise early. The man is simply too tired to rise early enough to prepare for morning church. My minister asks me, 'Why do you not come to church on Sunday morning?' I want to go to church; I feel the need of it; to me the public worship is full of all various help and inspiration; but I have to tell my minister I am simply too fagged out to go. By afternoon I am enough rested, possibly, to go to Sabbath-school and to the evening service. But I must rest. And what is true of me I know to be true of multitudes of my fellow-workmen. If only the Saturday afternoon closing movement could become universal, I am confident it would be an immense gain. People say that then working-men would go to the grog-shops. But I know working-men well enough to know that no more would go then than do go now. And because it does not seem to the working-man as though the church were urgent enough in attempting to secure such little lift and breathing space from toil, too often the working-man at least fears distrustfully that the church does not enough look out for him." Such was the tenor of this working-man's talk with me. I could not feel there was no reason in it. I could not help saying to myself, If for this working-man, so guided by Christian principle, this *time* cause does thus conduce to at least a semi-distrust, must it not be a very efficient cause of distrust of the church among multitudes of working-men not so grandly girt by religious principle?

I cut this from one of our Philadelphia newspapers, entitled "A Car-conductor's Cry": "Well," the man began, "the great evil of the life is the long hours. Were it not for these, our existence would be a comparatively pleasant one. On the first road on which I worked, after my apprenticeship as an 'extra' and my promotion to a 'regular,' I was on duty thirteen straight days of eighteen and twenty hours each. The company would not allow

me a day of rest, and so when this period was completed I recklessly took one and slept my fill, narrowly escaping discharge for this heinous offense. I reported for work about 5.30 in the morning, and got through at about midnight. 'Extras' on this line had a worse time; they reported at 4.45 A. M., and if they caught an early car would get through about 11 or 11.30 P. M.; oftener, however, they secured cars which did not finish until 12 or 12.30. Such labor grinds itself into a man; and I have seen them start from their sleep, jump up in bed, reach for an invisible bell-rope, and shout: 'Change here for so and so.' I have often seen drivers sound asleep while on duty, and I myself have wandered into the Elysian fields while sitting on the dasher. Nature would stand no more. Some day there will be a frightful accident through this cause, and then, perhaps, you of the press and of the public will take up cudgels in behalf of conductors and drivers. And then, again, we often have not more than thirty minutes in which to eat our three meals. That's not conducive to health, is it? No wonder that in a few months we have digestive organs hardly worth speaking of." I am glad to say that lately, in Philadelphia, there has been a great change for the better. But for long years it was as this conductor said. I am frank to say that such oppression, especially if members of such companies were members of the churches, would be apt to minister to distrust in almost every direction.

Another cause is the *expense* cause. Some time since, one of our prominent religious weeklies offered a prize for the best essay on the relation of the working-man and the church. The prize was won by a working-man's wife. It is thus she writes, detailing possibly her own experience: "The amount of money required to run the modern church is enough to frighten any one of limited means. Take for example a man having a family of six to support, his weekly earnings being \$10; which is no extraordinary case. He wishes to attend church regularly, and have his family accompany him. Suppose the renting and selling of pews is abolished, is our friend better off than before this took place? The children must give at least a penny each at the Sunday-school, the same at church, and the parents cannot allow the basket to pass without putting in something; then every one is supposed to contribute something to the pastor's salary by way of envelopes,

card subscriptions, or some other equally effectual way of fund-raising, and so it amounts to almost a dollar out of the precious ten that have so much to do. The week during which the rent falls due, which is exactly \$10 a month, they remain at home; for they will not parade their poverty by going without a contribution, and there is not a cent in the house. The next week is no better; for the grocer, the butcher, and the milkman must all be met, and their demands are inexorable. The family must have enough to eat and something to wear, and their souls can wait for food until some convenient season when circumstances will permit them to attend church without losing self-respect. But mayhap the 'convenient season' never comes. The family increases, and the income does not; the wardrobe grows shabby and shabbier, until finally the family are recognized as habitual non-church-goers." Surely such circumstances would be apt to minister first to religious carelessness, and then to dislike and positive distrust. This working-man's wife goes on to say: "The indigent and criminal classes are not neglected. Charity is organized to reach these cases in almost every particular. It is the working-man and woman whom the church is prone to neglect, or at least, to misunderstand. The writer's own experience has been that if one wishes to retain the respect of fellow church members, one must contribute to every cause presented, and Spartan-like, hide one's own necessities far out of sight of the brethren and sisters."

In a personal letter to myself from a Christian working-man — a member of the Methodist Church — among other causes of non-attendance upon church and of distrust of it, which I should like to bring before you, but which my limited time forbids, is mentioned: "The class feeling and the distinctions resulting therefrom in many of our congregations." "It will be urged," the letter goes on to say, "that while the objection to class-feeling may apply to many of the churches, it cannot be urged as to the missions connected with the churches. Emphatically it does apply to them also. The working-man reasons thus: If they do not think me fit to worship in their church the God who is our Father, they do not really believe that he is my Father, and I will not attend a church the very entering of which would mark me as belonging to an inferior class. They tell me that God is no respecter of persons, but their actions show that they do not believe what they say. Yet they want me to believe in him."

Now I am very sure that in a vast majority of our churches such intention on their part would be even vehemently disowned. I am sure that the churches mean to write, in the largest letters, Welcome to all classes, over their doors. But at the same time I am sure from a quite extended investigation that there is a very prevalent feeling among working-men, such as is expressed by this letter from a Christian working-man,—that the churches do not want them, or, if they do, want them in some side and separate mission; and that this feeling on the part of the working-man is a prime factor in his distrust.

Not by any means are these all the causes which I have come upon. But they do seem to me—as I have tried to analyze such as I have come upon—the most prominent and inclusive. Of course, also, these causes are like star-fishes, raying out in multitudinous directions. But here, for this paper, the catalogue must cease. The doctrinal, the time, the expense, the class-feeling causes, minister to distrust of the churches on the part of some working-men.

A fragment of my time is left for a consideration of the remedies. But first let me say that lowering and muffling Christ's doctrine can never be a remedy. No new nebulous theology in my judgment can be deftly fixed to meet the trouble. For the root of this trouble is the root of all troubles in this sinful world. If man's heart were chiming with God and not selfishly clashing against him, labor troubles, as well for capital as for labor, and troubles of every other sort, would cease. And it is only such definite, stringent, unmasked doctrine as that of the veritably atoning Christ and the veritably regenerating energy of the Holy Ghost which can attune anew man's clashing heart. Among efficient remedies I will mention,

First: The constant recognition on the part of Christian people of the duty of flushing the cold law of supply and demand with the warm colors of Christ's truth of brotherhood. Thomas Carlyle says: "It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched; many men have died; all men must die. But it is to live miserable, we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated, girt in with a cold, universal *Laissez faire*."

Professor Ely says: "*Laissez faire* politics assures us that we

are not keepers of our brothers, that each one best promotes the general interest by best promoting his own. There are those who tell us in the name of science, that there is no duty which one class owes to another, and that the nations of the earth are mere collections of individuals with no reciprocal rights and duties. It is time for right-thinking persons, and particularly for those who profess Christianity, to protest vigorously, in season and out of season, against such doctrines wherever found."

I do most heartily indorse such noble words. I do not personally believe that an iron law of supply and demand, forever grinding on, with nobody doing anything about it, is the last possible word of the science of political economy. I believe that a better and nobler word is "coöperation" in some form, and that, at last, albeit through pain and struggle, we shall come to it. Meantime, while competition is on the throne, the Christian must remember that brotherhood is on a throne still higher.

"I know of an instance that occurred this winter. A very respectable girl was employed in what would be considered a respectable house. She had been employed there eighteen months, and for two weeks before Christmas she had to work until twelve o'clock at night; and on Christmas eve she received her wages in an envelope, with a notice that her services would be no longer required. There was no fault found with her at all, but on the Christmas eve, I suppose in order to make the next day more joyous to her, she received that note. She was a girl eighteen years of age, and was working for four dollars a week. Now, were that girl without a father or mother, or without a home, what would be her position? After a few weeks, what alternative would there be for her but the public streets? Yet, she was turned off in that cruel way by a 'Christian' man, one making high pretensions in that line!" Such is a bit of evidence given before that Congressional committee of which I have before spoken. That may have been supply-and-demand political economy, but it was not Christianity. Christianity would have, at least, somehow cushioned the blow.

Second: A different style of church building. I speak from a personal experience. I have preached in a church comparatively small, with a mission adjunct. I have preached in a great building, welcoming by its very shape and size, every part of it fur-

nished precisely alike, every pew in it commanding equally sight and sound, with no broad aisle to do its subtle parting; and I know there is a difference in ease of prosecuting Christian work among all classes, and a proportional disarming of distrust. In the one case the comparative fewness of the pews pushed their tariff away beyond a usual reach. In the other case, a great number of pews brought the tariff down within easy and self-respecting reach, while an equally large income accrued to the church itself. I have long been convinced, that in our great cities at least, we build churches too small, and must have, therefore, pew rents too large. In great cities, according to my judgment and experience, great churches, with low pew rents, are far easier places into which to gather people of all classes, and are, at the same time, the best solution of non-attendance and distrust.

Third: A far larger recognition on the part of Christians of the duty of a personal instead of a proxy evangelization. "You see the day is past, when the church could say, 'Silver and gold have I none,'" said Innocent IV. complacently to St. Thomas of Aquinum, as he pointed to the masses of treasure which were being carried into the Vatican. "Yes, holy Father," was the saint's reply, "and the day is also past, when she could say to the paralytic, 'Take up thy bed and walk.'" It is not simply gathered treasure, whether of gold, or of social position, or of culture, which can make the church able for her duty, disarm distrust of her among all classes, and fill her with power for the compelling of the millennium. It is scattered treasure which will do it. It is as each one of her members does and keeps doing his share and hers of the priestly ministry of personal interest and invitation. Why should *you* be willing to sit in one corner of your empty pew on Sunday? Why should you not be restless until even from highways and hedges you have compelled them to come in — shown by divine deed, that God's house is for all, and at least done your share toward the disarming of any possible distrust?

## ADDRESS BY HON. EVERETT P. WHEELER.

The church system of this country came to us from our forefathers, and grew naturally out of their conditions and the circumstances in which they were placed. They brought it with them on the lines of emigration westward. The New England people settled the Western Reserve and built Cleveland, and your church system, like that of all our great cities, is a natural child and descendant of that which prevailed in the country from which the immigrants came. They lived in the midst of a comparatively homogeneous people. There were no great diversities in material condition. Every town had its church, and every church embraced within the sphere of its activity all the people in the town. I do not mean to say that everybody went to church, but it is unquestionably the fact that each church considered itself as responsible, to a greater or less degree, for all the people within its reach, and not simply for those who were regular church members and attendants. These people, as they came west, built up our cities, and built up their churches.

But the conditions of life around them changed completely, and the system which was well enough at the first, and did its work admirably, was inadequate to the wants of the new condition of things. Compare the Cleveland of to-day with the Cleveland of thirty years ago. Compare the New York and Chicago of to-day with those cities thirty or forty years ago. We see that great fortunes have accumulated, that wealth and skill have combined to form great corporations, which are nothing in the world but immense partnerships, directed by the most skillful. Then we have had a great influx of foreigners among us, and that has created another diversity in the condition of our people. Then our public school system has lent itself to increase the diversity in the conditions of our people. A boy goes to the public schools. What is he trained for? He is trained for business; he is trained for a profession; he is not trained to be a mechanic. There are no polytechnical schools in this country worth speaking of, taking the country as a whole. I know you have done much in Cleveland in that direction. We in the East have observed it, and I trust we shall follow your example. It is a noble example, worthy

of all imitation. Much has been done in Boston. We are trying feebly, but with promise of success, to do something in New York in that direction. Still, how little it all is, compared with the great mass of our boys that go to school and are not trained — do not receive an education that, to any extent, interests them in the mechanic arts. The result of that is, that, to a very large degree — I do not say entirely, but to a very great degree — our skilled artisans and mechanics are not American boys any more; they are foreigners; and here is another cause of diversity in our conditions.

The churches have not adapted themselves to this change. The churches that you belong to do a great and good work amongst their own attendants, and they do a great and good work among the very poor. The hungry are fed; the naked are clothed. I would not for a moment underrate — I believe there is no one who appreciates more than I do — the self-devotion, the self-denial of the good men and good women in our churches who devote themselves, or a large part of their time and thoughts, to ministering to the wants of the sick and poor. But the class of artisans and mechanics that earn ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five dollars a week are independent in their way. They are self-reliant. They have a good deal of pride. They do not come to you for help, and you have not gone to them to train them and instruct them.

That, it seems to me, is the cause of what distrust there is; and I believe it will be found that in those places where this distrust does not exist, it is simply because the church has taken the working people, as the subject for discussion calls them — the artisans and mechanics, as I prefer to call them — within the sphere of its activity, has recognized them as brothers, as members of the fold, and therefore entitled to receive the training and guidance which it is the function and duty of the church to give.

Now, there is nothing intrinsic in the organization of the church that should lead to this. It was not always so. Five hundred years ago it was not so. Five hundred years ago the church took all classes of society within the scope of its beneficent activity; and in those days the church was the only bulwark for the poor, the only bulwark for the middle classes, against the oppression and cruelty of the feudal barons. And while there is no doubt that occasionally the terrors of the church were wielded in the



Middle Ages in defense of wicked kings, yet, as a rule; they were not; as a rule, the church was the friend of the workmen and artisans of those days. Then came the Reformation. That did a great and good work—a work which nobody, of course, can overrate. But it had its deficiencies, and one of them was this: it set men's minds on fire with the discussion of theological dogmas, which up to that time had been very little considered by the common people. People went to fighting, not in any just sense for their religion, but for those old technical and theoretical propositions which had no particular effect upon their life and conduct, but which had a very important effect upon their state-craft and their polity. And while people were so busy with the differences between the Anglicans and the Lutherans and the Calvinists, the church lost its hold upon those classes of artisans and mechanics that up to that time had been its strongest friends and supporters.

We have not regained it yet. To regain it there is only one way. All the modern nostrums are like the quack medicines. They are plausible, highly attested by examples, but absolutely useless. There is only one tree that bears leaves for the healing of the nations, and that tree is the cross of Christ. It is only in the ideal of the Christian commonwealth which St. Paul describes that we can find any pattern on which to build the fair fabric of the American commonwealth of the future. What did he say to the Colossians? His idea of the Christian commonwealth was one where there was "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all." These words we have heard a great many times. They are familiar to our ears. I wonder how often we have translated them into the language of the nineteenth century. If he had been writing to a church in Cleveland, Chicago, or New York, instead of in Colosse, he would have said, "In that commonwealth is neither white nor black, neither Irishman, nor Bohemian, nor Pole." These words that he did use had a much stranger sound to the people to whom he was writing than they have to us. Up to that time this idea of Christian brotherhood had been sung by poets. There had been some Arcadia that had been dreamed of; but Christ and his apostles were the first that ever presented to men, as an ideal which could be realized into a fact, and which every man ought to try to realize into a fact, the

idea that they were brethren; that, therefore, however diverse their conditions, however diverse their race, they ought to be mutually helpful, and were mutually dependent.

Now, when the church of Christ takes this into its heart, and feels that it owes a duty of education, of direction, to all the artisans and working people anywhere within its influence, then we shall begin to regain what we have lost. Now, the working people are quite intelligent. We very much mistake them if we think they are altogether fools. No doubt, sometimes they have been led astray. No doubt, they have very often been led astray. But it is nothing new in the experience of the world that there should be demagogues to mislead the people. The prophet spoke more than two thousand years ago, and quite as vigorously as any one has ever spoken since, of a vile person that spoke ~~vehemently~~ *villainy*. Demagogues, no doubt, have done a great deal of harm; but there are a great many people amongst the laborers and mechanics of our country who are quite able to reason, who are very glad to listen, who are quite willing to be treated not as dependents upon whom we may bestow alms, but as brethren with whom we may converse, to whom we owe a duty of cooperation and of sympathy. They are the people our churches need to reach, and we can do it.

I do not say you can do it by this particular method here, and by that particular method there. The time is too short for me to go into those details, and I doubt if it would be very profitable, because the circumstances of each place differ; the means to be adopted by each individual church must differ. It may be a mission church in one place; in another place it may be a church such as that described by the last speaker. It may be that in some places a free church can be established—not a mission church—into which all the neighborhood will come. That is a matter which, if you have the principle clear, and the zeal and determination to accomplish, will easily settle itself for each individual Christian and for each individual church.

But the point of it all is this: We want in the churches the laboring men, men who have established their labor organizations; and I think it is a happy augury that one of the largest of them, perhaps the largest of them all, should be meeting in Cleveland now; that they and we at the same time should be endeavoring to

solve the same great problem. They have found the benefit and necessity of mutual helpfulness. These organizations of theirs are churches in their way. They have divers objects. Some of the men that are engaged in them may have political views; very likely they have. There are probably mixed motives in them. I have thought sometimes that I have descried mixed motives among very excellent people in Christian churches. We must not expect perfection. We must not expect absolute purity of intention. We must hope for it, and try to attain it. But don't let us give up the attempt at the start because we see prejudice, because we see mistake, because we see error. Let us rather put ourselves in this position: That the more astray these companies of working-men are, the more prejudiced they are, the more violent they are — yes, the more exasperating they are, and that is the hardest sort of people to deal with — however great their errors, they need, all the more for that reason, the instruction of the church. They need to be taught. Christ came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. It was those who were astray that had his special attention and his warmest love, and his life is simply an example for us.

Now, I am asked, by the question proposed, to suggest some remedy. I have stated this general one. Let us run it out for a moment in detail. The fault that labor finds with capital is that it is selfish; and we cannot deny that labor in its organizations has been selfish, too. But what was the rule of the apostle? He was speaking to masters and slaves. In those days the greater part of unskilled labor was slave labor; and if his words could be used in that unnatural relation, how much more may we take them to our own hearts! He says to the workman — and he has his duty as much as his employer — he says to the workman, "Do your work to your very best ability. Don't scamp it. Don't seek to get the most out of your master and give him the least in return. Do your work in the sight of Him from whom no secrets are hid." The old Greek sculptor said, "The gods see everywhere," and he would not consent that any part of his work, whether man saw it or not, should be slighted or neglected. And to the employer, to the capitalist, to every man who hires labor, whether it is in a factory or a counting-room, whether the laborers are clerks or mechanics, the apostle says, "Ye masters do the

same things to them. Whatever you expect from your employé it is your duty to give to him. If you expect much from him, you ought to be prepared to give him much." It is on this liberal principle that we must hope to stand in the future. We have examples of it. I have seen a factory in a town in New England where the head of the great corporation was as solicitous that the conditions under which his working people did their work should be favorable as he was solicitous for the surroundings of his own wife and children. In that factory I have seen plants growing along the walls. I have seen the boys going about with sprinklers, so that the fibres from the yarn floating in the air should not injure the lungs of the working people. I have seen a reading-room, a smoking-room, and spots where the men could go in their hours of leisure. I have seen the homes that have been built by that corporation for the laboring people — comfortable and attractive. In other ways, there are employers who enable their working people to participate in the profits, not, perhaps, directly by percentage, but by an increase of wages as the profits increase. I know that this experiment has not been tried, perhaps, so generally as to enable us to say that it is sure in all cases to be a success. There are objections to it. One obvious objection that suggests itself at the first blush is that the working people do not want to participate in the losses, and that it is not fair to have them share the profits unless they share the losses, too; that that is the very condition of a partnership. But if we set ourselves resolutely to work, seriously, as matter of duty, as matter of absolute obligation, to find out what we can do in the premises to give the same thing to the people we employ that we expect from them, the next step will at once become more clear.

If all men acted on this principle, of each looking not solely for his own but for others' good, the millennium would come. We do not expect to see the millennium, but we ought to strive for it. It is our duty not to stop until we have achieved entire confidence to believe as Luther did. Luther says, "Don't you believe that it is Christ who will overcome, and not the world? And will you cringe and fear and doubt of your success, as if it was the world that was to conquer?" Look back twenty or thirty years. Look back at the war which we fought through with so much courage, perseverance, and success. We were not satisfied with Chatta-

nooga; we were not satisfied with Gettysburg. We pressed forward until we had achieved absolute, entire, unconditional submission. What the United States of America had the right to ask of every citizen, shall we say that the Lord Almighty has not the right to ask of every individual? For what does he put us here, and set us to do his work, except that we may labor until that end is accomplished? For that he has given us every promise, and, above all, the assurance that he will be with us as our leader and our friend, and we can have in him the same trust, and ought to have for him the same enthusiasm that the soldiers of the war had for Sherman, for McClellan, and for Grant. We may learn from that noble self-devotion and self-sacrifice the duty that the Christian soldier owes to his great Commander; and just as surely as we succeeded then, so surely shall we succeed now, if we be true to our Conimander and follow wherever he leads.

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ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN JARRETT.

My dear Christian friends: I never in my life before addressed an audience like this. I have spoken time and again on the labor question, but never to treat it as a distinctively religious question. To-night, I promise you, I am not only going to state exactly what I feel on this subject, but what I know to be the feelings of my fellow working-men.

There are many causes of the distrust of working-men for the church, and the first of them is that the working-men — and I am speaking for a large body of them — think that the church is not what it ought to be. When the Prince of Peace came to this world he had his followers. Who were they? He chose his twelve apostles. What were they? We see that in the second year of his ministry, after John the Baptist had been cast into prison — whether there were doubts in the heart of John or not, we know not — he sent two of his disciples to Jesus, and they made this in-

quiry: "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" Did the Saviour make immediate answer? He performed some of his miracles in the presence of John's disciples, and then turned round and told them, "Go tell John the things that ye have seen; how that the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the deaf hear, the dead are brought back to life, and *the poor have the gospel preached unto them.*" The climax of the mission of the Saviour, beyond a question, to my mind, and to the minds of the thousands of working-men that I come in contact with, is that he came here so that the gospel should be preached to the poor.

In the first place, what are we, as working-men, to understand by this gospel? I see in this audience to-night many who are members of the noble order known as the Knights of Labor; and they say that labor is holy, and they call their order a holy order. And why? Because God himself ordained from the beginning that man should work. Before sin entered into the world, after the Creator had created man, he placed him in the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it. Man was there to serve his Maker, and in order to serve his Maker he had something to do — not something to believe, but something to do. Sin came; man fell. I pass over the history. You are all acquainted with it. Jesus came to this world. One evening I see him in the little town of Capernaum. He looks forth, and sees the working-men (and working-women, for aught I know), coming down from the hill-side, heavily laden with the fruits of their toil that day, and he raises his voice, as only the loving Saviour could raise his voice, and he says, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." We are told — and I hope that my dear friends of the ministry will not be offended if I say that we are told principally by them — that the Saviour came here simply that we might have heaven after leaving this world. The working-men want to get a little of that heaven here if they can. And Jesus came here to show them how to get it. He said, in speaking of himself as the Good Shepherd, "I am come that ye might have life, and that ye might have it more abundantly." What did the Saviour mean by this? He meant that life lost in Adam — man's lost estate through sin — was to be redeemed by him, and that man was to receive that redemption, receive that salvation, the lost estate, back again in this world.

Now, with that statement, you see exactly where we, as working-men, stand, and what we are expecting. You have heard several causes of this distrust stated in the paper that has been read. My heart leaped for joy when I heard that dear brother from Philadelphia say, "We are all brothers in Christ, if we do his will. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye keep my commandments." What are the commandments of Jesus? There is one above all, and it is this: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might, and with all thy strength, *and thy neighbor as thyself.*" Now, is that doctrine, pure and simple, preached in the churches? Has it been preached in the churches for many years? I know that there are good ministers of God in the churches at the present time. I believe that some of them have stood on this platform, because I have felt a thrill pass through my heart as I have heard the sweet words from their lips. I believe that there is a day of awakening dawning on the church, even at the present time; and instead of our colleges being places of incubation, of turning out ministers, by and by God will call these people to their work again. It is God's work. Show me a minister that does not succeed, and I will show you a man who is not called by God to the work. If a minister of a poor church, with only hard-toiling working-men around him, who is saving souls, accepts a call from another church simply because there will be added to his salary a thousand or two thousand dollars, and he cannot there save souls, the Lord has deserted him most assuredly. I do not wish to say anything on the subject of salaries. We believe, as working-men, that there are men who stand up before us as the children of God, and say to us, as the Apostle Paul said to the Corinthians, "Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ"; and if the church has gotten astray, these men are responsible; it has gone astray by following or trying to follow those who have not been following Christ. It may seem hard to say this, but it is absolutely true. An incident came under my personal observation a short time ago. A church was not thriving. Did the minister attend to the poor members? No! That church was one that paid attention to the man that had the gold ring and the good raiment, and did not pay much attention to the poor man; and the principal reason why it did not, at least in the opinion of the poor men in the church, was because

they had not money to contribute toward the ministry and the expenses of the church. I happened to visit these people. I was requested to attend their Sunday-school. I did so. I have been a Sunday-school teacher since I was thirteen years old, and I never intend to desert my post, because I believe that notwithstanding there are evils in existence in the church, God in his mighty power will yet come and touch us all, as branches of the True Vine, that we may bring forth more fruit. This church had dwindled down until there were only four members left. I knew that at one time there were at least three hundred members, and when I visited it, I was very much surprised. I inquired what was the reason it had dwindled to four members. Well, they had been quarreling among themselves. What! Quarreling? Is it a fact that there are schisms in the church—that there are quarrelings? Yes, there had been quarrelings there, and there had been tale-bearers there. There had been a great deal of hurting people's feelings in that church; and eventually, as I have said, the church had dwindled down to a membership of four. A young man came there from college; and I am glad to say that all the young men that come from college are not bad men. I happened to meet him on this Sunday, when I discovered that there were only four members. He talked the matter over with me, and I was surprised when he said to me: "Brother Jarrett, will you please come with me aside, and let us pray God to revive his church." I thought it was a very good idea. We went, and we prayed. Then I said to him, "Now, I don't know that God will answer that prayer, unless you can pluck up sufficient courage to go out among the members, or the people who used to come to this church, and invite them back. That will show whether our prayer is the prayer of faith." He said, "I will try and do that; and I wish you would stay here a few days and assist me." I did. We went out, and we invited several of the old members to come back, especially the well-to-do people, because we wanted them in to get their money as soon as we possibly could. On the following Sunday only one fulfilled her promise. She was a very rich lady, and a very good lady, too, I assure you. This dear young man said to me, "Well, what shall I do?" I said, "I am going to speak here on the labor question next week. I will take a little



interest in going around among these laboring men and seeing if I cannot get a few of them to come here." I want to tell you this, because I was so much interested in the matter. Among the wicked young men in the rolling-mill was my own dear brother. He was the first man I approached. I said, "Jim, mother is dead; father is dead; you and I promised to be good boys, and here I discover that you are a wicked boy yet. Come to church, Jim, and be a good boy." I got him crying a little bit, and he eventually promised me that he would come to church, and I am glad to tell you that on the next Sunday morning he was there. I saw a number of other wicked young men—young men that decent people would hardly notice—and I invited them to come to church. Quite a number of girls worked in the factory, and they were invited. On the following Sunday sixty-two of those people came to that church, and the mighty power of God's grace descended, and worked in their hearts, and those poor people were made heirs of salvation. This occurred something like nineteen years ago. That church has been taken down twice—not altogether taken down, but it has been doubled in size twice since that. I received a letter from them only a couple of weeks ago, and they say the congregation is yet too large for the church, or rather, the church is too small for the congregation, and I thank God for that.

Now, what did this? That young man had learned the secret of preaching what? Theology? No; he let theology go to the winds. What did he preach? Christ and him crucified, to those poor working-men. He preached another thing to those working-men: he told them that the drunkard had no place in heaven. And he told them something else—that the extortioner had no place there either. If the church will arise in its might, and preach the gospel, and show that the extortioner, the man who oppresses the hireling in his wages, the man who extorts from working-men their earnings, and robs them, has no place in the kingdom of heaven, you will find that God will come and work amidst us in a very short time.

I was talking with a manufacturer only the other day—a dear friend of mine, and a good, pious man—about my coming here, and he turned around and said to me, "Why, look at these large

works of mine. Look at the large number of men to whom I have furnished employment. Am I not a good man for doing that, Mr. Jarrett?" I said, "Yes, sir; a good man; but let me ask you one question, my dear friend. It will be an easy one. What was your object in doing this?" "Why," said he, "to furnish work to these poor men, that they might have bread and butter for their wives and children, and get good clothes on their backs, and to build up the community in general." "Pray tell me, Was that your object now, or was it not (answer me as before God!) to increase your wealth?" "Well," said he, "I will admit there was a little bit of that in it." "Then," said I, "verily you have received your reward."

My friends, what we need just now is that the pure gospel of Jesus Christ be preached to the poor men of this world. Let them understand that Jesus sympathizes with the working-men. Let us go away back among the old hills of Galilee, and down into the beautiful city of Jerusalem, and away up through Samaria, and let us follow the Saviour in his journey through life, and we shall see the poor working-man, the down-trodden, the oppressed, looking for hope somewhere; and Jesus stretches out his beautiful arms to them, and says, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Jesus is the hope of the working-men, because Jesus himself came to this world to set us an example how to live. He cursed the Pharisees; he cursed the extortioners in the temple; he cursed every man that did not devote his life, as he ought to devote it, to the welfare of others. If Jesus came here and lived for us, it simply means that we are to live for one another. Selfishness must go into the background. Good men must come out. I said to a gentleman the other day, "The solution of the whole matter is this: 'Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you.'" He turned round and asked me, "But who is to commence to do that?" Said I, "The Saviour commenced to do it. He did it for all of us. He not only lived for us, and set us an example how to live, but he died for us to show his great and intense love for us;" and if we follow Jesus, we must learn to live for one another, so that, if need be, like the good soldier on the battle-field, we shall be ready to die for one another; and then I shall hope to see the time come when

employer and employé shall join together in a bond of love and unity, and then they can look up to heaven and sing with joy,

Praise God from whom all blessings flow;  
Praise him all creatures here below;  
Praise him above, ye heavenly host;  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

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ADDRESS BY MR. HENRY GEORGE.

Mr. Jarrett said that he had addressed a good many audiences in his time, but never such an audience as this. I could say that, too; and thinking what an audience it is, my mind goes back to the time when the secretary of this Congress and I were Sunday-school boys together in St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. I do not know precisely what he thought in those times, but if I may judge him by myself, we thought that the Protestant Episcopal Church was the true, holy, apostolic church. The Catholics; well, we had some hope that they might be saved—some of them. As to the Methodists; they, to use a commercial expression, they were away below par. And as to the Universalists; why, I remember hearing that a girl had married a Universalist, and it seemed to me then almost as bad as though she had married a Mohammedan. The world is moving, and nothing shows better how rapid that movement is than such a gathering as this, where, in their official capacities, clergymen of denominations that have been estranged, if not hostile, meet together. It is good; good in all senses. Most of our prejudices and dislikes are founded upon our ignorance. As we meet men of various classes and various countries, we learn to appreciate the good that is in them all. So it will be with the men of different branches of the Christian church, as they come together. And as they thus come together, in the process of thought that is now going on, it is my confident hope and belief that the non-

essentials will fall off and the true essentials of the Christian faith come out brighter and purer and clearer and stronger.

What is the reason of the working-man's distrust of the church? The first speaker expressed some doubt as to whether there was any such distrust. I was talking to-day with a member of the Convention of the Knights of Labor, and he asked what was the subject to be debated here to-night. I told him. He said: "Distrust of the church! The trouble with working-men is that they trust the church too much." It may be an open question, as the first speaker put it, whether the working-men do or do not distrust the church; but this is certain: that the active, ardent spirits among the working-men, not in this country alone, but all over the world—the men who are stretching forward, and hoping and struggling for some improvement in the material condition of the hard-worked masses—almost without exception, everywhere, distrust the church. Any man who mingles with them may hear it day after day. There exists a feeling of utter hopelessness that soon grows to bitter hostility.

The church, the first speaker said, is against those extremists, the socialists, the anarchists. With them she can have nothing in common. Who are these men, the socialists, the anarchists, the nihilists? and what is it they seek? What are they struggling for—crudely and blindly, perhaps, but still what? Is it not for a state of greater equality, for a state of more perfect peace, for a condition where no one will want and no one suffer for the material needs of existence? That is the ideal those men have before them, blind and wrong in their methods though they may be. And what is that ideal? Is it not the kingdom of God on earth? What was the reason that a doctrine preached by a humble Jewish carpenter who was crucified between two thieves, a doctrine propagated by slaves and fugitives meeting in caverns, overran the world and overthrew the might of the legion and the tortures of the amphitheater and the dungeon? Was it for any theological distinction that Rome, the tolerant—Rome that welcomed all gods to her Pantheon—persecuted the adherents of this new Galilean superstition? No, it was not for any belief as to the Deity, any belief as to the origin of things, any belief as to a future state. On those subjects they might have held as they pleased. It was because they sought the kingdom of God

on earth ; it was because they hoped to bring it about there and then ; it was because their doctrine of the fatherhood of a common Creator and the brotherhood of men, struck at the root of tyranny ; struck at the privileges of those who were living in luxury on the toil and the sweat and the blood of the worker.

How is it to-day ? I do not know if ever you have thought of it, — but, returning once from journeyings through the British Islands, where I had seen the gaunt misery of the Irish peasants and heard the bitter stories of the Scottish crofters, and talked in cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow and Belfast and Liverpool and London with men and women who had gone among the poor and seen their dire, heart-breaking misery, I came to Windsor Castle ; and there — perhaps some of you have seen it — in that gorgeous marble chapel I saw represented by the hand of the sculptor the Passion of Christ — all the scenes to the last terrible scene when he is nailed to the cross. And for what ? To uphold and support the effigy of a prince, the crown and the climax of that infamous system that on those islands to-day is crushing human beings made in the likeness of God to a state lower than that of the very beasts ; that system which is bringing about not merely the death of the body, bitter though that be, but the death of the soul as well. Is it not so everywhere ? Is not the Christian church to-day the support and the bulwark of the social conditions that are ?

That is what earnest men believe, and out of that comes their bitter hostility. I believe that it is really the spirit of religion. Religion, to my mind, has little or nothing to do with what we think of God. What it has to do with is, what we do toward our fellow man. In those parables of the gospel, when the soul comes before the judgment seat, what is it asked ? “ What did you believe ? Did you praise me and glorify me ? ” No ; but “ What did you do for the poor and the oppressed ? ” And at the bottom of socialism and nihilism, the revolt everywhere against these hard conditions of modern society, is really the religious spirit. Where will you find in modern times those who most resemble the early Christians, but in those high-bred Russian ladies, and those men who, forsaking rank and fortune and everything else, go forth, giving up everything, to commit even an

act that in itself would be a crime, in their passion for the elevation of their fellows?

I am glad that such a subject as this is discussed before such a meeting as this. As Mazzini said, every political question is at bottom a social question, and every social question is at bottom a religious question; and it is the religious spirit, and the religious spirit alone, that has in it power to renovate the world. Selfishness can accomplish nothing real and broad and permanent. It is to the sentiment of duty and the sentiment of love that the appeal must be made; and out of these, and of these, comes the spirit of religion.

Why do working-men distrust the church? Working-men of the sort I mean distrust the church because its voice is not raised in any efficient way against the conditions which condemn great masses of men to a life for which, in their inmost souls, they feel that an all-powerful and beneficent Creator never possibly could have intended them. The church has much to say of charity and kindness, much denunciation of wrong in a general way, much praise of the good in a general way; but when it comes to specific things, where is the church? Social questions are now beginning to attract attention among the clergy of all denominations, and it is one of the most hopeful signs. But what is the tenor of the great majority of the sermons that are preached? As I heard a clergyman express it the other night, it is temperance, and such virtues, for the poor, and the gospel for the poor and the rich. It is, "Be kind, be generous. Let the workman serve his master diligently, and let the master be generous and kind to the workman." Kindness—generosity—none of those amiable virtues can cure the conditions which condemn great masses of men to hard and miserable lives. Generosity—kindness—none of those amiable virtues can narrow that widening gulf between the rich and the poor. What is needed is something higher, and something that must come first. What is needed is justice! And here let me say that political economy can teach absolutely nothing that is not taught by morality. No matter how it may be in the smaller affairs of life, and when we only see the relations of individuals, nothing is more certain than that in the lives of communities that which is right is always that which is wise. And all

we have to ask at any time as to any great social question is, What is right? What is just?

Now, without going into it, here is one great injustice that lies at the foundation of modern society to-day. What is the teaching of religion? That we are all the children of a common Father; that he created this earth for our tenancy during a brief life, one generation following another; that we are all his children, and all equal in his sight. Yet religion, which promises us an equal share in the kingdom of heaven in a future life, has, as preached too often to-day, not one word to say about the denial to thousands and hundreds of thousands and millions of the creatures of our common Father of all share and right in his earth. There, at the very foundation of society, lies a flagrant wrong,—one competent to produce all the suffering, all the poverty, all the turmoil that we see, and which must, with an advancing civilization, unless that wrong is remedied, go on increasing. But as the old animosities, and the old theological incrustations of faith, pass away, I trust and I believe that that higher, truer, religious view of this life will come out. Even now there are voices everywhere, among the clergy of all denominations—single voices. Let me repeat but one to you, and that from a Catholic bishop. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, in an address to the clergy and laity of his diocese, said: "Now, therefore, the land of every country is the common property of the people of that country; because its real owner, the Creator who made it, hath given it a voluntary gift unto them. 'The earth hath he given to the children of men.' Now as every human being is a creature and a child of God, and as all his children are equal in his sight, any settlement of the land of this or any other country that will deny to the humblest his equal share of the common heritage is not merely an injustice and a wrong to that man but a blasphemous violation of the benevolent intention of his Creator."

Christianity of that kind has in it the power to conquer the world again.

## SPEECH BY REV. WILLIAM WILBERFORCE NEWTON.

I little thought, when we were boys together in old St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia, that there would come a time when that little, white-haired lad, whom I knew as Henry George, would go on his way to perform his mission among the Knights of Labor, and that I should go on to do my work as a minister in the church of Jesus Christ. We meet together here to-night upon this platform, and I take it as a good augury of the church of the future.

I shall never forget a passage in Green's *History of the English People*, where he tells the story of old Admiral Drake, who before he went to fight the Dutch fleet heard the message of the pilot of the vessel, "You cannot fight that fight to-night, with the ebb tide coming on." The Admiral said to him, "Are you through with your remonstrance?" "Yes," said he, "I am through." "Very well," said the Admiral, "now you have done your duty." Then, turning to the sailing-master of the ship, he said, "Lay me alongside of that Dutch frigate." Now, my friends, to night we have had remonstrance enough about an ebb tide or about a full tide upon this subject, and the voice of divine command to the church to-day is, "Lay yourself alongside of this problem, and conquer it!" I am not sure but that we have a case of catching a Tartar here. I do not know whether the Knights of Labor have captured the Christian church or whether the Christian church has captured the Knights of Labor. Whatever it may be, thank God we are here alongside of this subject at last — not as doctrinaires, not as theologians, but as coming down to the hard arena of our common duty and our common responsibility.

The other day I received a letter from a working-man. I have not answered that letter yet, but I shall answer it, when I go back, with something that I gathered from the speeches of last evening. I shall answer it in one part from what Bishop Gilmour said, and in another part I shall answer it from what my friend Mr. Adams said. So, you see, it will be a very wise prescription, for it will be made up equally of each of these salves. This working-man said to me, as he wrote this letter, "Now tell me, why should a working-man go to church? He has his Sunday newspaper. Yesterday was Saturday night; to-morrow will be Monday morn-



ing. He has paid his insurance dues. He has paid up all the fees of the Knights of Labor, and the different lodges to which he belongs. Sunday is a breathing-spell between yesterday and to-morrow. The church will do for the women and the children; he wants his day of rest. The average minister knows nothing of the wants, the duties, the trials, the privations, the perplexities of working-men. I ask again, why should I as a working-man go to church?" When I come to answer that letter I will say, as Bishop Gilmour said last night, "Simply and alone, because the man that tries to save himself is lost, and because the church must always be the basis of all morality, and because, when the man wants to bring up his family, his children and those that are about him, he must begin with that which is the bottom fact of right and wrong; and the church stands in this respect for that which is the ultimate fact of God's eternal righteousness upon this earth."

Now, let me tell you of one cause, as I believe, of the working-man's distrust of the Christian church to-day. Look at the commercial world. Look at the factory world. Look at the way in which men are brought together in the relation of employers and employés. In old times the employer stood in a fatherly relationship to those who were his employés. What has happened now? A third party has come in between the employer and the employé. The employer has become a corporation, and between the corporation and the men who work stands this awful figure that has loomed up in history again and again, call it by whatever name you choose. It was the slave-driver of Egypt. It was the "Legree" of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was the political boss of the Tweed ring in New York. It is the boss, the engine-driver, the superintendent—the man who stands between the workmen and the corporation. The members of the corporation as individuals may have souls; the corporation as a corporation does not have a soul; and between the corporation and the workmen stands this awful figure of the slave-driver, the tyrant, the boss, the man with the whip, the man who is driving the workmen, the man who stands as the representative of that which is the conventional machine. Now, if there is one thing in American life which this people will not stand, it is the machine; whether it is the machine in politics or the machine in theology, or the

machine in ecclesiasticism. Human nature reacts against the machine, simply because we are the children of our forefathers, who have always stood for liberty and right against tyranny and oppression. I take it that this is one of the causes of the working-man's distrust to-day of the Christian church.

Very well, to come to a conclusion; for I am now to suffer as I have made others suffer myself — I shall hear that bell ring in one minute. What is to be done? People say that there is nothing to be done. People say that there is no help for it now, and that we must suffer on. If that is so, then, as one said in New York a week ago — and I trust you will think no less of it when I say that it was my own brother who said it — last Sunday morning, said he, when he preached to his people, "If this thing cannot be righted, then this is not God's world." And if these men of the Knights of Labor are trying to right it in the spirit of law and the spirit of order, God bless them in their work. And if the Christian church is coming down to try to right this thing, God bless it in its work, for it can be done, and it must and shall be done.

"When the old world is sterile,  
And the ages are effete,  
He will from wreck and sediment,  
A fairer world complete.

"He forbids to despair;  
His cheeks mantle with mirth,  
And the unimagined good of men  
Is yearning at the birth."

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SPEECH BY REV. E. S. LORENZ.

As the pastor of a distinctively working-man's church, I feel that I have a right to say a word on this stage. Having behind me the experience of a father who has spent his life in the ministry, working among working-men of a city, and brought by my own pastoral relations into direct connection with the working-men

of our cities, so that the church to which I minister is made up, with but one or two exceptions, of wage-earners, I feel that this whole question as to the working-man's distrust of the church is thoroughly exaggerated. The newspapers of the class which are sneering at Christianity, and are glad to use the magnifying-glass of their own cultured prejudices, in order to make the evils that are in vogue in the Christian church seem greater, have made Christians afraid, and we have been running away, as the first speaker upon this theme suggested, from a great dog which we thought was a great bear. It is a fact that there is distrust of the church. We cannot deny that. But let us look for a moment at the classes among whom this distrust is to be found.

In New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, all the great cities where the foreign elements in our land have been aggregated — there you will find the distrust. And why? There is a class who come to us from the Catholic countries. They came to us from lands where the word of the priest was almost law to them, and where they thought of nothing else than the great superstition of their church. They came to this land; their eyes were opened; they felt that the foundation of their faith had been vain, and they became filled with a distrust, with a hatred even, which not only took in the Catholic Church, but took in the whole of Christianity. And when you come to consider not only the Irish and the German Catholics, but even the German Lutherans, you will find that the same conditions are to be found. Do not mistake me for one moment. I have not a word to say against the Lutheran Church of this land, which has been vitalized by all Christian influences, so that the great English-speaking Lutheran Church of this land is one of the powers of this country. I speak not against the church; I speak of the state-craft mingled with priest-craft of the old country, where baptism and confirmation are the only elements of religion which touch the people, where water has received superstitious influence, and where the hand of the priest or the hand of the minister is supposed to open the gates of heaven. When the German Lutherans, filled with the rationalism they have been taught by their pastors, filled with all the ferment which is to-day working in Germany, as in perhaps no other civilized nation — when these men come to this country, the influence of their "turner" establishments, and of their saloons, and all the influence

of German thought in our cities, is concentrated in a distrust and a hatred of the church,—because of the unreality of the church from which they have come, and because of the intoxication of a liberty to which they have not been accustomed.

Then there is a third class, and the smallest class, of working-men in our country, who distrust the church. They have come from villages, where they went to Sunday-school, where they sat under the teacher, where they sat Sabbath after Sabbath under the preacher. The little manufactories which they had established for the manufacture of wagons and other instruments for the farmer, and for the village community, and into which had gone the savings of years, have been wrecked by the great combinations of capital in the great manufactories of our cities. These men have gone into bankruptcy, and then they have removed into the cities, and there have become a part of the class of serfs who are laboring under the princes of capital in our cities; and they feel that they have been robbed—robbed of their liberty, of their manhood, of all the rights of Christian citizenship; and they come into our city churches, and they see the beauty, the gorgeousness of many of them; they see the minister standing in his robes in the pulpit, and they say to themselves, "This is not the home church." They sit in the pew a moment after the benediction has been pronounced. Never a smile, never a kindly word, much less the warm pressure of the hand that betokens the warm heart. They wait a moment at the door. The ushers have nothing to say, and out they go. It is not as it was in the country, not as it was in the village, where everybody knew them, and they were happy in all the social relations of the church, and the church was the cement that united all the elements of society. They go again. The ushers at the door, observing their working-men's garb, may not be as courteous to them as they might be. They are courteous, but there is an ice about their courtesy that chills to the heart, and these persons say to themselves, "I don't want to go to that church. I don't care for that church." The next Sabbath comes, and the weariness of Saturday night is upon them, and they say, "I will not go to church. There is no joy in going to such a church." The next Sabbath they assert themselves again, and they go out, only to meet again the same chill atmosphere. They say, "There is no use." Week passes after week, month after month.

Again, the class-leader, perhaps, in the village church, or in the country community, one of the official members, one of the Sunday-school teachers, a Sunday-school superintendent even, may backslide, and, falling from the fervor of his love for Christ and for the church which was his pride, may come to hate it—come not only to distrust it, but to denounce it. I speak not, friends, from fancies of the imagination; I speak of what I have seen and heard.

And this brings me to the one point which I wish to emphasize in the moment that remains to me, and that is, that our religion has too much of unreality in it. Our churches have too much of the unreal in their services. There is too much unreality in the pulpit. That orotund pulpit tone that pronounces the prayer, the beautiful grace of the gesture, and the magnificent choir that arises at a moment's notice—all that is very beautiful, but very unreal. The conventional, the idea of the "proper," has swallowed up the idea of religion. The law of esthetics has been interpolated into the ten commandments, and has been accredited with all the power of the moral law,—so that if a man, in the excess of his religious emotion, should shout aloud "Amen," in the midst of a stirring sermon, his fervor would be frowned upon. Unreality in the church, unreality in office, unreality in social life, unreality in commercial and manufacturing interests—hollowness, hollowness, heartlessness, unreality—is the disease that is upon our churches, and that is driving the workman, who cares not for conventionality, who cares little for the niceties and proprieties of life, away to the saloon, and into the "dives" of our cities, driving him into the clubs of the anarchists, driving him to follow the red flag as it goes on its way of destruction. And those who are responsible for all this had better beware!

## FIFTH DISCUSSION.

TOPIC : RE-ADJUSTMENTS IN THE CHURCH TO MEET  
MODERN NEEDS.

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### I. IN OUR CITIES.

PAPER BY REV. B. B. TYLER.

The condition and needs of mankind, in all ages, have been essentially the same. The cry of the race through the centuries has been one. The Creator of all, as a compassionate Father, heard the appeal, and sent his Son from heaven to seek the lost and restore wanderers to his fellowship. Not to condemn men, but to heal the broken hearted, to proclaim release to captives, to give light to those who are in darkness, and to set at liberty the bound was the beneficent purpose of the Son of Man. These things men needed in the days of the Cæsars; and the same general wants oppress so many of our race at this hour as have not been brought under the life-giving power of the gospel of the grace of God. This is true of men and women whether in country, or town, or city, whether living in the north or in the south, at the east or at the west, in the old world or in the new. The divine incarnation was for the express purpose of reaching and rescuing man from ignorance and sin and suffering in this world and in the world to come.

Our God came near to us in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, not as a consuming fire, but in the power of a regenerating love. Jesus identified himself with the lowest of the race, and wrought for the reclamation and salvation of the most degraded. He gave himself for man as man; and not for the poor as against the rich, nor for the rich as against the poor; not for the unlearned as against the educated, nor for the refined as against the rude. During his personal ministry he recognized no class distinctions; and after

the endowment of his disciples with wisdom and power from on high they declared that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. Not even did Jesus consider distinction of sex in his work. "There can be," said St. Paul, "neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free; there can be no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Human beings, as such, were to be sought and saved. This was the dominant thought in the life of our Lord. The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and even to give his life to ransom the enslaved. When he commanded his few elect and specially trained friends to go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation, he contemplated the delivery of a message which was the power of God unto salvation to every person who, hearing it, would believe. To his disciples Jesus said: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." Each disciple ought to reproduce, in his place, and to the full extent of his powers, the philanthropic life of the Christ. By word and deed, he is, in an important sense, to become a saviour of men. He who directly or indirectly turns a soul from the error of his way saves such an one from death and hides a multitude of sins. The true child of God is an epistle setting forth moral and spiritual truth within the circumference of his influence.

Now the same beneficent purpose which filled the mind of the God-man during his entire personal ministry on the earth inspired him when he gave his solemn and divinely emphatic charge to evangelize the nations, and when he graciously promised to build his church on the indestructible truth that he is the Christ, the Son of the living God. Jesus was God manifest in the flesh. Is not the church of Christ the perpetual incarnation of the now glorified and highly exalted Son of Man? The church on earth is called by the Holy Spirit the body of Christ. When Jesus came among men he said: "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." At the close of his life he said, in prayer, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." As the Son of God correctly represented the Father, so must the church of Christ accurately represent the Head of the Body. This is the ideal church. The experience and life of our divine Lord is recorded in the single pregnant sentence: "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power; who went about doing good and healing all who were

oppressed of the devil; for God was with him." This was the experience and life of the Head of the Body; let this be the experience and life of the church which he loved and for which he gave himself. He designed his church to be the pillar and support of the truth and the ministry of all good to the human race. Jesus was no recluse, no ascetic, no hermit; nor should the members of his church be. While he was and is divine he was and is intensely human. He associated and sympathized with the people when he lived in the land of Judea. Now, at the right hand of the Majesty on high, he can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, having been tempted in all points as we are. The little children were drawn toward him by the power of a moral gravitation, and he put his hands on them, blessing them. It was objected to him that he was a gluttonous man and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners, because he came eating and drinking, and dared to speak to the abandoned, and put forth his hand to rescue the perishing. He gave such attention to man's temporal, material, physical wants that he gained renown in the first place as the Healer: "They brought unto him all that were sick, holden with divers diseases and torments, possessed with devils, and epileptic, and palsied, and he healed them." The body as well as the soul was the object of our Saviour's interest. If the Christ thus thought of the temporal and material welfare of men as well as of their mental, moral, and spiritual health and happiness, his church ought to do the same. A brief survey of Christendom will show that the church, in the sense of a single congregation of Christians, or in the denominational sense, which most nearly follows Christ in these things, is the body which most fully meets modern need in the city, and has, as a result, the strongest hold for good on the people. Myriads of human beings long for affectionate sympathy. Not dogma, not ritual, not ordinance, not ceremony, not formal observance, but sympathy, and the help which can be given and received only in this way is what men need; for this in various ways they patiently ask; and because they feel the absence of it, because they feel that they are alone in the world, with no one deeply, profoundly, thoroughly interested in them, they turn from the good and the pure, and the true, and rush with a kind of fiendish frenzy into courses of life which bring unhappiness and death as a certain fruitage.



It pleased God by preaching to save believers; but the Most High never contemplated the preaching of scholastic theology as his power to save the lost. Theology is the divinest and best of sciences, and in its place is of incalculable value; but, especially in a great city, where the battle of life is very real, and most intense, and where the forces of evil are strongly arrayed, it is certainly not an important element in the uplifting and regeneration of the degraded. Biblical theology is the only kind worthy of serious attention in our modern Babylons and Sodoms. And even this is of but comparatively little value unless preceded and followed by such work as has been suggested. The demand is for practical preaching. You may have heard the remark: "I like that preacher; he is *so* practical. I go to hear him because he is a man of such good, strong, common sense, and such deep, tender, manly sympathy. His Scripture readings, his prayers, his sermons, help me." When, however, we speak of a re-adjustment of the church to modern needs, there are persons of intelligence and piety who experience something akin to a shock. "Did not Jesus," they ask, "when he founded and builded his church, make it as he designed it to be through the ages? Is it not almost profane to speak of the re-adjustment of this divine institution? Can the human improve on the divine?" It may be admitted that the church of Christ, as it existed in the beginning and under the personal ministry of inspired men, was perfect and thoroughly furnished to every good work and at the same time a re-adjustment of the church may be demanded in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The facts, and truths, and principles, and ordinances of the Christian religion, as they are brought to our view in the New Testament, must stand. Let no man think that he can innocently change anything in our holy religion which has been fixed by divine authority. The authority of Jesus must be respected, and his appointments, as he gave them, must be maintained at any hazard. But Jesus, in this as in everything else, is an example to us; and how readily and frequently he adjusted and re-adjusted himself in speech and act to the exigencies of the hour; to the needs of the occasion. His most illustrious servant, Paul the apostle, imitated, with a marvelous facility, his divine leader in this respect. The principle which guided him in this he states in the words following: "For though

I was made free from all men, I brought myself under bondage to all that I might gain the more. And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law, not being without law to God, but under law to Christ, that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak. I am become all things to all men that I may by all means save some." In the experience of this greatest preacher there was a continual re-adjustment while he determined to know nothing save Jesus and him crucified. This may be to some a great mystery, but it is an important fact. In this, Paul was godlike. God is toward a man as a man is toward God. With the merciful he shows himself merciful. See the infinite tenderness and hearken to the divine pathos in the words of Jesus under certain circumstances; listen to his terrible philippics and burning words of awful denunciation under other circumstances. From these facts the church of God ought to receive instruction as to the manner of speaking the truth and doing the work whereunto she has been called.

If any one questions the necessity for a re-adjustment of the church to modern needs in the cities, the reply is a column of bristling facts. There can be no reasonable doubt that, on the whole, Christianity has more than kept pace with the rapidly growing population of the republic. It is said that the increase in population since the year 1800 has been nine-fold; the increase of communicants in Protestant evangelical churches has been twenty-seven-fold. But if we pause to consider the moral and spiritual condition of the large cities, every motive of love and loyalty to God and a Christian desire to reach with the blessings of the gospel the unchurched masses calls for and imperatively demands a re-adjustment. The great cities give tone to society. In America the city is a growing factor in the consideration of problems relating to the moral and spiritual life of the people. In the United States, twenty-six per cent. of the population is in towns of 4,000 inhabitants and over. The proportion of urban to rural population is constantly increasing. In 1800 there were only six cities in the United States with a population of 8,000 and over; in 1850 there were 85; and in 1880 there were 286. In 1800,

3.9 per cent. of the population was in such cities; in 1850, 12.5; and in 1880, 22.5. There is danger of our great cities becoming great moral ulcers. On a pleasant Sunday in Boston, in 1882, 124,909 persons attended church, or rather more than 25 per cent. of the population. In the tenth ward in New York there is a population of almost 50,000 with only five Protestant churches and chapels, and in the seventh ward the same destitution exists. What the Roman Catholic Church is doing for this great mass of human beings it has been impossible to learn. We can in places almost equal the "bitter cry of outcast London" which so startled Christendom two or three years ago. A committee of paid inspectors has been looking into the condition of the people in the tenth ward in New York. The reports are sad. A family of five was found living in a cellar with fifteen geese. A woman and five small children were found in a room which had not been cleaned for five years, in a starving condition. Not a morsel of food had been eaten for two days. Fifteen persons, of both sexes and all ages were found living in two small rooms, a great part of which was taken up with old rags and refuse. In one building, covering a lot 25 by 95 feet, were found 258 persons. In three rooms, two of which were without windows or even openings into the halls, twenty-five persons were living. Eighteen thousand nine hundred and sixty-six tenements contain an average of about fifty persons each, or almost one million. This million is unprecedently crowded, and its physical and moral unhappiness and misery cannot be adequately described. A comparatively small per cent. of the population is directly and regularly under the influence of the gospel. The moral destitution is much greater than the physical. Do not these facts suggest that there ought to be a re-adjustment of the church so that these people may be reached and blessed by the gospel of our Lord Jesus? There has been a quiet assumption in the statements as to the number of churches and chapels, which keeps out of view the real condition of the people. It is here assumed that the places of religious instruction and worship are well attended. This is not the fact. The churches, as a rule, are by no means crowded. The people prefer the places of amusement and dissipation.

We need, in the solution of the difficult problems which now crowd upon us, a teacher come from God. Let the Son of God

be heard. His church was founded in the first place in great cities. Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Philippi, Athens, Rome, were the points selected by our Lord for the work of his church in the apostolic era. The problems which we are called on to solve are very similar to the questions which the Christians in that early period were called on to consider. The labor problem; capital; what social classes owe to each other; woman's rights; intemperance; slavery; the social evil, etc., etc., were topics for thought and discussion in the first as in the nineteenth century. Among the 1,200,000 inhabitants of ancient Rome, even in Cicero's time there were scarcely 2,000 proprietors. Of the 100,000,000 of people in the Roman Empire in the days of Augustus, 60,000,000 were slaves. We lament the laxity of the marriage bond; and well we may. But Seneca tells us that women married in order to be divorced, and were divorced in order to marry; and noble Roman matrons counted the years by their discarded or discarding husbands. Intemperance threatens the life of our republic. But the intemperance of the people when the gospel was first preached exceeded the intemperance of the American people. Tacitus and Pliny are authority for the statement that men drank out of jeweled vases worth hundreds of pounds; feasted on the brains of peacocks and the tongues of nightingales, and a fortune was squandered in a single banquet. As to the social evil, modern society is purity itself compared with society as it existed in the first century of the Christian era. Woman's rights is a question with which inspired men had to deal, and to their teaching woman owes her freedom and happiness in countries possessing a Christian civilization. The men who led in the solution of these questions at that time were supernaturally guided. Jesus sent the Holy Spirit to them for this purpose. They received, before entering on their work, such a copious spiritual influence that it was called the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Now, when there is such a similarity between ancient and modern needs, and such a likeness between the persons most interested then and now, is it not the part of true wisdom and piety to turn to the New Testament? "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh." With the word of God open before me, I venture to present the following suggestions, touching the re-adjustment of the church to modern needs in our great cities:

1. The one church on the one divine foundation, — as in the beginning, when the pastors and teachers were guided by the Holy Spirit. The multitude of the believers in Jerusalem, the mother church, were of one heart and one soul. Divinely inspired men exhorted Christians every where to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment. They were taught to turn away from men who caused divisions. This united church, in the most dissolute oriental cities, saved in large numbers the most corrupt (I. Cor. vi: 9-11). Jesus taught that the unity of his disciples must precede the conversion of the world (John xvii: 20, 21). In no city in the world to-day can the church be addressed as Paul addressed the church in Rome, in Corinth, or in Ephesus. There is not the unity now that there was then. There ought to be, there must be, there will be such a oneness before we successfully cope with the evils which confront us.

2. The preaching of the plain, simple gospel of God's love and power manifested in the life and death and resurrection of Jesus, with a contented and intelligent administration of the ordinances in the form and for the purposes expressed by the Head of the church. Such a course on the part of the ministry will make men Christians — simply and only Christians. And is not this sufficient?

3. There ought to be attention given to the physical, social, and intellectual needs of the people as well as their moral and spiritual needs. This work cannot be done in the wholesale, but one by one the needy must be reached and affectionately cared for. The charity organization societies are moving along the right line.

4. Divide the city into wards or districts. Group the churches for work. Let the Christian congregations unite and make a thorough canvass, striving to bring all the people under gospel influence, and extend to each person just such assistance as is needed. This kind of organization and work will greatly assist the church in attaining the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, which was a marked characteristic of the body of Christ before the great apostacy.

5. To do this work requires a degree of self-forgetfulness, and a devotion to the Christ, with a love for the lost for whom he gave himself, not at all common. Let such a degree of ver-

sonal consecration be diligently and prayerfully sought. We must forget denominational distinctions, peculiarities, and dogmas in an all-consuming desire to improve, in every respect, the condition of the people.

6. As to the organization of societies, guilds, etc., let circumstances indicate, as the work progresses, what will probably assist in attaining the desired end in a given city or section of a city. Mechanical work will not secure the wished-for result. Spiritual forces alone are adequate. The religion of Jesus fully meets the deepest needs of the race. The gospel of the Son of God is the divine remedy for the woes which afflict humanity. The church of Christ as he formed it is the only institution needed for the moral improvement of the world. The church in its normal state is described in the New Testament. The church of to-day is in an abnormal condition. The movement is in the right direction, but slow.

In making these suggestions I have sought to be guided by the Christ, as his mind is revealed in his inspired word.

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#### ADDRESS BY REV. W. S. RAINSFORD.

The work of the church and the work of the state are indissolubly bound together. We may just as well hope to prevent the eastern winds from blowing on our coast, the eastern seas from falling on our sands, as we may hope to prevent the great tide of human life, various in its character, various in its capacity, from pouring on our hospitable shores. The work of the state is to help this great tide of men to the attainment of their ideal. The work of the church is to keep that ideal on a high level, and to occupy it. Men will always fail of the attainment of their ideal, and therefore they need the inspiration of the church of God to keep that ideal on a high level, and so save man from the reaction of his own failure. I take it, dear friends, that we are only beginning in this great land to understand the work of the church in this respect. Just as the nation, as a commonwealth, is

called of God to take the various strands of human life and weave them into a new, useful, and beautiful national garment, so the church is called upon to express, by her offices, by her buildings, by her organization, by her effort, by her whole attitude, the fact of the underlying unity of men. We have got to bring a national testimony, a national witness, home to the nation.

We are scarcely beginning to realize this. I take it that we all admit that the work of our churches has not been sufficiently directed to the attainment of this result. There has been too much development of individualism. The work of the church has tended too much to develop this organization or that organization, this sect or that party. The previous speaker, as it seems to me, brought us where we should stand this morning, to contemplate how the Spirit of God in the days that are past guided the church of Christ to the attainment of this work. Glance with me for a moment backwards, and only for a moment. How was it that the early church succeeded? She had heresies—we sometimes forget it—she had heresies within her bounds, many and grotesque. Her ignorance was gross. Her sins were dark. And yet she succeeded. She succeeded, as the speaker has just said, in the face of difficulties that seem almost insuperable. The society that the early church came to was a society on the border land of despair. All unities were falling to pieces. The great Roman empire, that had stood for a time, preserving a seemingly impenetrable front, was dissolving into sand. Man looked with distrust on his fellow. Nations disregarded the interests of other nations. The Greeks sneered at the Romans, the Romans contemned the Greeks, and the Jews detested both. It was to a society rapidly going into disintegration that the gospel of the new era came. Let us remember that, as we dwell on this eternal duty of the church of God. The early church conquered because she came, to these various elements which were distrustful of each other and all falling to pieces, with the message of God, declaring, in the language of the apostle Paul, that he had broken down the middle wall of partition between nation and nation, and had made both one. If we could only have stood by St. Paul, when he wrote these words in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and looked over the wide world, what promise do you think we should have seen of the fulfillment? The world seemed likely never to obtain a true

unity. There was no promise of it, and yet he said, "He hath broken down the middle wall of partition; he hath made both one." And strong in that early faith, the apostle looked abroad and saw the work as though it had been already done, as though man no longer simply regarded the ties of national self-interest, but felt that in the hope and work of Jesus Christ he had risen to a realization of his true and lasting position, both in regard to his fellow men and to his God.

Now, is that position unattainable to-day? After eighteen hundred years of the Spirit's teaching and guiding, how do we regard it to-day? I fancy most of us, at least, will agree in saying that this great object of the church of God, the lesson that it needs to impress on the world, it has not impressed as it should. As I say, in this great land of ours we are called specially to impress this lesson, because our nation is engaged in the wonderful work of moulding out of many parts a new and comprehensive whole. They may say it is more or less an experiment. Some philosophers tell us that it is. Many of us believe that the experiment is passed. We are called to take the threads of the various nations and weave them into a new nationality; and if the Congress of Churches is going to do this work, she must lead and raise the ideal of the nation in that respect. How is it going to be done?

It should be done, first of all, I think, by the very witness of the churches themselves to the work they have to do. Our church buildings should speak of the main mission of the church. The main mission of the church to-day, in my opinion, is the declaration to men of those underlying unities which they have as possessors of a common humanity, revealed in the incarnation of Jesus Christ. How is the church going to do this? She is going to do it, if she does it rightly, by the very witness that her religious buildings bear to the population surrounding them. Our factories speak plainly enough, with the rattle of their machinery, with their hundred grated windows, with their escaping steam, with their ceaseless whirl and bustle—the factories of our land speak of the business life of our land; they symbolize it; they speak of its rush, its ceaseless activity; and the churches of our land should speak just as distinctly as the factory speaks, from their very stones and bricks, of their mission to the world—should loudly speak. In our great cities they stand closed for



six days in the week, with the name of the undertaker blazoned on their walls. I say if we are going to do the great work that the nation calls upon us to do in these days, the church must do it, because she symbolizes in her very outward buildings the mission that she believes she can only carry out by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

Further—some people may think that I am simply crazy on this point, but I believe it is a sensible craze—her buildings should be free. The previous speaker has made a point that I hope every lady and gentleman in this assemblage this morning will take away and remember—that the destiny of the Christianity of this land must be settled in the cities; that, beyond all doubt, the future of the nation is to be solved in the cities. We dare not shut our eyes to fact—and if we do not, this is just as patent as anything can be—we dare not shut our eyes to the fact which he already has pointed out, that the Christian church is not holding its own in the cities. He could have emphasized with still more important figures those remarks he made. Friends, it is beyond dispute—the question has passed the region of controversy—it can be mathematically demonstrated to this or any other intelligent American audience that the church of Christ is not holding her own in the cities to-day. The mission field of the church in this land to-day does not lie west of the Mississippi; it lies in the great cities east of the Mississippi; and, this being so, I say it is of the very highest importance that the churches in the cities should do the work; and they can only do that by throwing their doors and their accommodations open to all. I speak here from some experience. I have had a large pew church and a large free church. I know that the free church requires, perhaps, twice as much work; but I know that, in spite of all obstacles, a free church can be made to succeed; and I know that when it does succeed it affords an opportunity for doing the work of God, for emphasizing to the community this great fact of man's underlying unity with his fellow men that no pew church can possibly afford. What I say is this: To-day we are in danger in this land from disintegrating forces. We all know it. What is this great conference held in this city at this time to ponder? What is the question agitating the minds of men to-day? The question whether the disintegrating forces or the uniting forces at work in

society shall succeed. The question whether we are going to come nearer to each other or to be separated from each other. The question whether the underlying unities of brotherhood that link man and man are going to preponderate, or the selfish disunities that separate us from each other are going to preponderate, to-day. Tell me, is there one place in the world where man can so fitly realize his union with his fellow man as in the church of the living God? Is it not there that men should meet — not as rich, not as poor? We do not want churches for the poor; we do not want churches for the rich; we want churches for men as men. Only by the fuller and deeper realization of these duties that link man to man, as true manhood is revealed in the person and work of Jesus Christ, can man bear the strain of the diverse forces that seek to divorce him from his fellow man to-day. It is this, as it seems to me, that the church of the living God has got to do. It is this testimony we have got to bear.

Some people say that the mission work of the church can be done in one series of buildings, and the main, congregational work of the church in others. I do not want to be misunderstood. It is impossible in the limit of a few minutes to say words that shall be rounded out and that shall adequately express one's meaning, but I want to state distinctly that in the old land, where men meet together in the great cities, or in the new land, where we have these aggregations of humanity of comparatively modern growth, the mission chapel system is failing, and is bound to fail. You cannot have a rich church up town with beautiful music, beautiful seats, a beautiful building, and a good preacher, and a poorer church down town, with stuffy seats, a second-rate preacher, and third-rate music. It cannot be done. What we want, men and brothers, is the most beautiful church, where the mission of beauty can do its best work, the sweetest music, so that the mission of sound can do its best work, and the best preacher, so that the preaching of the gospel may accomplish most. We want the best churches. If the Spirit of God were at large in the church as it should be, Christian men would realize that a beautiful church, a powerful ministry, and a true and beautiful service, could do larger work to promote the happiness and well-being of mankind in the slum than on the broad and elegant avenue. Those people who have but little beauty and sweetness in their lives, need all

that a beautiful church can give them, and a good preacher, too. What we need is this: We need the Christian people in our churches recognizing the fact that Christianity means giving up something; that it means that the father and mother, husband and wife, should come to church a quarter of an hour before the time of commencing the services if they are bound to sit together. I do not want the church to break up the Christian family. That is the accusation against the free church, you know: "If the people come to a free church, the wife must sit there, the father there, and the children there." Come early if you must sit together. And let your self-denial be your message to your fellow men that you are prepared to give up something. The man who has ten millions and the man who has not ten dollars need to talk of the things they have in common. We believe that they shall stand yet before God stripped of their ten dollars and of their ten millions. Let there be some place on earth where they can strip themselves of them. This is not an impossible idea. Men like Baptist Judson in New York, and Father Louth in East London, shake hands on that principle. They are men who know what our cities are. You will not find a man who has lived among the poor in our great cities, who will not say to you that the way to reach the masses is to have free churches of the grandest and best description among the masses. At four o'clock, the other morning, in a beautiful church in the city of New York, I saw over twenty-five hundred men. What church was that? A Roman Catholic church. And why? There was not a Protestant church in the city of New York that could get a thousand men together at four o'clock in the morning. Not one. Why? Because the Roman Catholic church realizes the fact that she wants to put her beautiful church right down among the people, and if she builds a beautiful church up town she allows the people to go there. I am speaking now to some of you people right here in Cleveland. When you move up town and build a beautiful church, don't put pews in it; put chairs in it. Friends, it is the only way in which the rich and the poor can come together and realize the fact that the Lord is the Maker of both. Say to the rich man, "You can give a thousand dollars a year to the church; it does not cost you anything. You do not smoke any fewer good cigars; you do not keep one horse the less in your stable; you do

not keep one servant the less at your board. But it does cost you something to give up your seat. My brother, give it up, then." You say to another man, "You can only give ten cents. Give your dime, then. As much will not be expected from you." We want to make our churches cheap to the working-men, and if we do, they will come. I saw the other day in a church that shall be nameless, a burglar who had been fifteen years in Sing Sing, sitting alongside of a man who had been a foreign minister from this country. It is not hard to do it, if you can only make the people feel that they are welcome. Get them to feel an interest. Make them feel that they must give something.

I have carried on as many religious services in theaters and tents as perhaps almost any clergyman in the Episcopal Church. We are not friendly to that sort of work in the Episcopal Church, you know, in this country. And I here state my conviction that the masses cannot be reached by theater or tent services. I thought years ago, when I lived in London, down in Bethnal Green, that they could. I thought so when I lived in other large cities in England. I thought so when I first came to New York, in 1876. But I do not think so to-day. I find you can get the people to come to the tent; but if you have not got a church that is ready to receive these people, you lose the fish between the net and the ship. What we want in order to further the work of God, is a church large enough and free enough and catholic enough to invite men of all classes to its services, to make men feel that it is not simply a nice, little, comfortable, social corner where they can hear the singer they like, and hear the parson they like, and shake hands with their very peculiar friends, and perhaps extend a little bit of recognition and friendship to their poorer brethren, because, you know, we must be a little friendly in the church. That — you may say what you like — is the position the churches occupy to-day toward the masses in our cities. And how anybody who knows our large cities can say that anything like a large proportion of the poor working-people come to church, I don't understand. They do not! You may quote statistics; you may go to manufacturers and make inquiries; but I venture to say that the man who lives among the poor of our cities, knows that the poor men, the working-men, do not come to church. The very poor do.

The people on the border-land of pauperism do. But the sober working-men do not.

Now, how can the church deal with this problem? Not only through her buildings, not only through her organizations, but through her men. Oh, men and women, we want to see the time when there shall be men at the head of church organizations with large enough apprehension of the state of things, to lay their hands, in the name of God, on the lay-workers in our churches. The laymen in the church of God in this land have not begun to do the work of God in this world. You say laymen are not accustomed to speak in public. Why, sirs, you are the best talkers in the world, except, perhaps, the North American Indians. American men are the best talkers in the world. Hear them after dinner! There is no comparison between the American and the Englishman, or any other, in the power of talk. There are thousands of godly men in our churches, and these men must be shown how to consecrate the power and spirit God has given them to the cause of Jesus Christ. We cannot do it by sending a few men into the seminaries; we want to begin with you mothers in Israel. You must take your best boys and bring them up to the thought that the highest ideal they can attain to in life is to stand — without any prospect, perhaps, of making much money — in a position in which they can give all that God has given them, to bring their fellow men out of sin and darkness into the light and life of the gospel. Oh, mothers, if you bring up your sons to the idea that it is infinitely better to be a second-rate clergyman than a first-rate millionaire, you do a great work for God. The pulpit from which the gospel of Jesus Christ can be best preached to-day, is not the pulpit of the Methodist Episcopal Church, or the Presbyterian Church; it is the pulpit of the office, the pulpit of the counter, the pulpit of the work-shop. Go to the Presbyterians, go to the Methodist Episcopalians — you see this fact, look where you will: that there is a dearth of men coming forward to the ministry. And where is the fault? Is it in the home? Some say, "We do not get money enough to enable us to go to the seminaries." All that is true. But let the home influence be right; let the mothers bring up their boys to the idea that the greatest thing is not to get money, not to get power. The Americans are not avaricious; we want power; and, because money means power, that is the reason we

want money. The great temptation of this age is power, not money, as sometimes people thoughtlessly say. But bring them up to see that the greatest thing they can do is not in the wielding of power, but in the giving of power to their fellow men.

One thing more. We want consecrated womanhood. I have been in the West; I have seen two solitary sisters go to a Western town — a hell upon earth, where there was not a pure woman, perhaps, not one — and I have seen those two women do more than two or three churches. We do not begin to realize what consecrated womanhood can do. I know that the mothers, with children and husband to look after, can do a great deal of good work by giving up so many hours a week to the performance of church work. But we are talking of cities. The main work of the cities can only be done by the regulars. I mean by that that there are great problems in our cities, that can only be dealt with by women who give up their whole time and whole life to them, so far as they feel called of God to do so. These must do the heavy work, and the others can do the work around them. Our Protestant womanhood has not begun to wake up to this thing. We do not want simply deaconesses; we want the womanhood of all our churches to wake up to the fact. Four or five daughters at home; mother can do just as well with two. Some of the daughters do not expect to be married; probably do not want to be married. Let them go out, then, and do this work. Let them learn how to speak different languages. Let them learn how to work in the hospital. Let them learn the consecrated power of a woman's devotion to God and to man. Oh, I tell you there is a great deal of power in the touch of a consecrated, educated, sympathetic womanhood. There are thousands of people in our churches who are asking, "What shall we do?" Brothers, what we can do is this: We can bow before God, and ask for grace to lead us. We can trust him. We can, by his help, feel that we have not done what we ought to have done, that there are new methods we must pursue, and yet only one old straight way in which we can do it. As Lowell says, "Put blood into the work." That will enable us to make some approach to a realization of what Jesus Christ meant when he said "My blood which I give for the life of the world."

## II. IN COUNTRY TOWNS, AND ON THE FRONTIER.

PAPER BY REV. S. W. DIKE.

The needs of country towns demanding re-adjustments in the church are chiefly from two causes. Modern social changes have produced some of them, and others arise from misapprehension of the country town and its religious needs on the one hand, and on the other from misconception of her own institutions by the church itself. The wording of my subject precludes the necessity of any reference in this paper to the need of more efforts of the kind we now have, as the emphasis is upon re-adjustments; and I shall speak of existing needs without regard to the particular time of their origin. This subject is so great for the time allotted me that I have resolved to bring forward three or four considerations in a line of study and treatment which seems most likely to yield the best results.

1. All effort at re-adjustments in the church life of country towns should begin with a comprehensive knowledge of the facts as they now are. Until students of this problem are willing to cut loose from the traditional theories of much of their ecclesiastical training, and to approach the subject as largely a practical and scientific one, they are in danger of missing many things needful to an understanding of it. For this reason I urge the best possible study of the facts as the only safe way to begin. And I will point to some of them by way of incentive and direction.

The insignificance of the little country towns is forgotten the moment we consider them in the aggregate. Upon adding up the figures of the last census, I find that nearly seventy-four per cent. of all the people in the United States live in towns having less than 4,000 inhabitants in the entire township. But this includes the south and the western frontier. Let me, then, take the fourteen northern states east of the Mississippi river. These states contained in 1880 a little over one-half the population of the entire country, and is the region of great cities and large towns. But even here sixty-one per cent. of the 25,000,000 lived in towns of less than 4,000 inhabitants. There were more people in these fourteen states living in townships of less than 2,000 inhabitants than there were in all the towns of 4,000 and upwards, including all the cities, and this by a round million. That is to say, there

were about 11,000,000 of people in towns having less than 2,000 inhabitants. In New England there were 1,000,000, or twenty-six per cent. of the whole population; in New York the proportion is about one-third, or more than the entire population of New York city; in Pennsylvania I estimate it at fully two-fifths; in Ohio the actual figures make it over one-half; and the estimate for Indiana is two-thirds, and for Illinois nearly three-fifths. It has been said that we seek men, and not acres, and so must aim at the centers in the great cities. But the men are on the acres. The cities draw largely from the rural districts. Even in these fourteen thickly-settled states the majority are on the acres and in the little villages of less than 2,000, as soon as we go west of Pennsylvania. And there were nearly five millions in the smallest-sized towns I have named east of Ohio, in 1880.

The problem of the cities is a huge one, and too serious for any but humble recognition. Their rapid growth, their intense social life, their accumulations of vice and crime, their pre-occupation of the time of the best men, and the difficulties of municipal government and Christian work in them combine to make their problems vast and intricate. But, on the other hand, the perils of rural life and those of small villages, and their circumstances, need careful study. If recent events have opened our eyes to the grave perils of cities, they have helped to show that we have great resources for meeting the danger promptly and efficiently. If evil there is easily swollen into mobs, the forces on the side of law and order are also great and readily organized. And we should be able to separate the streams of mischief that pour into cities and follow each part to its source, tracing the lines of filtration from country to village, and from village to city, measuring the volume of the movement, testing its diffusive character, and should try to estimate the task of discovering and removing the social poison that festers in the scattered population of rural communities, it is possible that certain popular judgments might be reversed. The concrete expression of evil in large and dense collections of people may not be the most serious of our problems.

How fully is the Christian church meeting the needs of this large rural population? There are, as a rule, churches enough in all the older parts of the country in country towns. When Indiana has a church building to every 528 souls in the state, and there is a church to every five or six hundred throughout the



United States, and a minister of some kind to every seven hundred, it is evident that the church ought to be reaching nearly the entire population, or else the greater need is for a better re-adjustment of forces.

The most competent authority of whom I know thinks that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the inhabitants of these fourteen States east of the Mississippi cannot attend church on account of distance. That is to say, under present arrangements, four or five millions in these states alone are beyond the reach of the customary services of the churches. Here is something that needs investigation. A beginning has been made in New England recently. Of over forty small towns lately canvassed with care, towns mostly adjacent, but in two or three counties, all small and containing above 40,000 inhabitants, forty per cent. of the people live more than two miles from church. It was found that, while some school districts beyond this distance, with a superior class of families, showed good attendance at church, absenteeism, as a rule, increases one-third or more when the distance is over two miles. On the whole, only from one-half to two-thirds of the population in country towns attend regularly any religious service. The actual numbers are probably even less. This effect of distance needs much study.

Comparative cost of Christian effort, as regards men and women in different towns, and with regard to the work to be done, is another important subject for inquiry. Very great irregularities are known to exist, even in the same denomination. A village, with its outlying neighborhoods of 1,500 or 2,000 persons, often has from three to six churches, and as many ministers, and expends upon its churches two or three dollars for every inhabitant it has, while an entire township near by, having at least half as many inhabitants, will not exceed fifty cents per capita, and will have a minister only at irregular times, while one or two churches remain closed. Statistics touching the effect of the increase of denominations upon church attendance and membership would be valuable. It seems to be true that church attendance compared with church membership has declined. This is deeply significant of the growing separation between the churches and those outside of them.

That present methods will not reach all the people in these

towns, even with enormous increase of expenditure, must be apparent. Re-adjustment of some sort seems necessary. And the first thing to do, I repeat, is to get the facts as fully as possible. A comprehensive survey of the field as a whole would be infinitely more valuable than the denominational statistics usually given. The comparisons at missionary meetings between the members of a single denomination and the entire population of a state are a snare and a delusion, if not something worse. There ought to be a committee of the ablest and most catholic representatives of the great leading bodies of Christians, with money and time to survey the field. The cost of this work could be taken from the church extension and home missionary societies with economy, for the outlay would speedily repay itself. An analysis of the wastes in men and money, and a study of such improvements in distribution as would not interfere seriously with churches as they now exist, simply as business men would take up any matter of their own or of public expenditure, could hardly fail of doing great good.

2. Secondly, but briefly for want of time, I suggest that the ideals of the church be examined for the sake of more exact grasp of them. Among these are the opinions, more or less common, that the church is designed to be one body, and not many; that its standard of efficiency is reached only when this becomes true, practically if not formally; that its true aim is to establish the kingdom of God in and through Christ on this earth; that it seeks to recover the entire life of all men to its divine ends; and that it thus aims at the most comprehensive social as well as individual conquests. These are the postulates of the working-theories of many Christians. But modifications or theories contradictory to them exist and control much action. For some act upon the supposition that Christianity is directly concerned with nothing but individuals, and that it aims only to collect those who accept its offers into a society by itself that is removed from the rest of mankind, and that thus the people must necessarily be arrayed in two consciously hostile armies, whose antagonism will necessarily increase with time. Now, so long as aggressive Christianity rests upon the sacred Scriptures, as either containing or constituting an authoritative revelation, and upon an historical life, the ideals formed therefrom must be a proper subject of even a scientific

study of these problems. And Christianity must submit her ideals to the investigation, or be ready to take a course regardless of facts and their logic. But in these days of critical methods, the careful student is cautious of the claims of all ideals that are not fully verified through correctly interpreted facts. Life and fact are the great modifiers of theories and dogmas.

3. Re-adjustments in the church in rural towns, should proceed upon a knowledge of the sociological structure of these communities and its significance to practical Christianity. This course is necessary to a real understanding of the facts. Practical Christianity does not in these days overlook the economic, intellectual, and ethical condition of a people. And it cannot afford to ignore their social state generally. Yet we have been doing this very thing. The peculiar sociological structure of various communities has rarely been used in determining methods of Christian work among them. One or two churches have through historical reasons, or for the practical purposes of the hour, worked toward the sounder principles which recent studies of society have brought out. But as a rule, every community has been subjected to the same process. City, village, and farming populations have been stretched upon the same Procrustean bed. A single organization, called the local church, has been applied to them all, with small regard to its fit or misfit, and in utter ignorance of those constitutional differences which the comparative study of social institutions brings out. We have begun the work of a new church by counting the individuals in a place, estimating the chances of getting them together in a central assembly, reckoned up their pecuniary means or possibilities, and so started out — and so kept on. The people have been regarded as so many souls — whatever that term means — and that is about all.

Now the science of human society seems likely to re-inforce the unwilling skepticism of the hard-headed man of affairs, who doubts the finality of some traditional notions of the church. Since the application of the historical and comparative methods of the last twenty-five years to the study of social institutions, the commonplace country town has become one of the most interesting and suggestive objects of science. We finding it, either in embryonic or more developed form, the chief elements of our political institutions and of our gravest social problems. For cities are scarcely

more than expanded towns or packs of villages, just as the great organs of the human body are masses of primary tissues modified and adjusted to their new combinations. From being at first the germ of the state, the country town has come to enter into almost every part of it. Next to the family it is the most pervasive and important of political components. It holds many of its earlier elements, and retains something out of all its long history. To go no further back in that history, the country town is first the old pastoral form of society, and it is then slowly moulded into the ancient village community of almost absolutely self-contained interests. It is, also, an archaic village community that preserves much of its earlier social form, but which has carried over many of its political functions into the modern state and nation, expanded its economic interests until they join those of the wide world, delegated its educational work to schools, and divided its present fragmentary religious activities among half a dozen churches. Indeed, something of almost every feature of its long past is found in its present constitution. But differentiations of functions to institutions within and without its limits, the retention of some very early elements and the possession of many strangely new features of life, mark the country town of to-day.

The most striking of its present features is probably the great liberty of individual action, and it would be hard to say whether Christianity as we have known it, or the operations of property and the modern industrial system have contributed most to the result. If the former has supplied the motive, the latter has furnished the means. But other things directly concerning our present study underlie this characteristic of modern life in the country. As already intimated, the one early corporate life of these communities has become many corporate or collective concerns lying wholly or partly within its bounds. Even now capital takes on corporate forms, and labor is seeking its own distinct unions. Education, politics, religion, crystalizes around its own center; in case of the latter, around many organizations with accordant and dissonant interests, and with large heterogeneous masses outside and among them all. Religion is no longer the conscious soul of a social whole, as it was in the time of our own very early ancestors. It occupies a very different position from that which it held in the days of our own forefathers in this

country. It meets a society marvelously unlike that of even fifty years ago, before steam, electricity, and the power-loom began to tell upon our social system.

The re-adjustment of the church in country towns must take the measurements of this new and yet ever old society with the best instruments science puts into its hands.

It must attend to another thing—the presence of the family and its relative place in rural life. The family is everywhere found in the country town, and on the whole is more nearly its old and seemingly abiding self than any other social institution. For after all the surrender of its earlier functions to the industrial system of the time, to the school, the church and the state, and its consequent loss of recognized function and possibly actual decline of power, the family is everywhere on the ground and less changed than any other social institution in country life. The home, with its tender ties and relations, its educational power and religious possibilities, covers the land. The individual passes from the home into all his other social relations, and the same necessarily performs an important part in fitting him for them. The local church has a tether, —slightly elastic, it is true, but it is hard to stretch it beyond a certain limit. But the home is everywhere, and its relative control over life and character increases with its isolation. Men pass from homes into communities, *and not the reverse*.

These are practical facts. But their importance is strongly emphasized by the historical examination of the growth of society. For such study shows that other institutions may come and go, or pass from maximum to minimum and back again without utter social ruin or serious derangement to society, but that this cannot be true of the family. The family must be kept near its normal condition, or social ruin is inevitable. We also learn that society grows from without toward centers, and that not merely in respect to the movement of population, but in the best developments of political and some other institutions, unless there be abnormal conditions at the outset. This has been the law of the great Teutonic nations. Germany and France (and I think I might say Mr. Gladstone) are acting upon this truth to-day. The rapid growth of cities is a serious matter in those countries, and recent steps of the German and French governments go to show that they are grappling with the problem of the cities by studying rural com-

munities as the real source of remedies for the evil. So the church must study rural conditions practically or historically. Science bids her look thoroughly into the organization of these communities, into families and their constructive work in building society. These are elements, too, of all the great social problems.

4. The church should examine her own organization from this same point of view. If she has not comprehended the social order of her field it may also be true that she has not understood the social structure and limitations of the institution which has been her great instrument — the local church. This has not been studied in comparison with other social institutions in the light of the discoveries of the last twenty years. Much has been done in one direction by Bishop Lightfoot, Drs. Hatch, Cunningham, and others, but the subject still waits for the scientific method which the genius of Sir Henry Maine has used in another field.

We all know how it has been. The exigencies of theology, purely ecclesiastical considerations or strictly exegetical deductions from the New Testament, have mainly determined the present organization of the churches. Having once fixed, by this kind of study, upon some one order as the actual institution of the New Testament, and assumed that this form was imbedded there for all time and is the true one, Christians have gone into the world and undertaken to impose their pet theory upon every community and apply it to every stage of society without change. Each has thought to realize the true form of the first century. But through all the variations of Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational types, there has run a common structural plan claiming support in the New Testament. These churches are collective, depending upon an assembly and radiating all work from that as its center. They distinctly or practically recognize three classes — their members or communicants, their other adherents, and those entirely outside, who are the common objects of conquest and sometimes of strife. Notice that these churches have with us no defined territorial limits, but work or contend upon the same ground, often making incursions upon each other; that usually there are no organized relations between them in the same town; that though often coöperative in spirit and practice, they are frequently competitive or even hostile, and that each has its own equipment of

material and officers, and repeats substantially the work of the other in its own way.

Compare this with the present condition and history of other social institutions. Though military and industrial organizations are not without their lessons, let us take educational and purely political institutions, since these, like religion, are more comprehensively related to the entire population. In primary education the principle of the thorough organization of all the parts into a consistent whole has triumphed in our country. In the higher education we inherit the system of the churches from them, though beginning to struggle against its defects. But this kind of education is special in its aim. Civil institutions give one a good field for comparative study; for all men must be political, and we aim to make all religious. Here we find that territorial lines bound each community. The relations of incorporated village to town, state, and nation are clearly defined. No man is allowed to be outside their reach. Everywhere the professed aim is at the greatest efficiency with the largest liberty and the closest economy. Religious institutions in America, when thus compared, seem far, very far behind political institutions in scientific organization. Indeed, the church life of this country is, sociologically speaking, hundreds of years behind the times. The religious societies of country towns have many of the features of the village communities of two thousand years ago. Some of them are wonderfully like segments of tribes that have gone into fixed encampment, but are still contending for such territorial rights as mere occupation can secure. In other features they resemble the early Greek cities. For they have their citizens by descent or adoption into membership, their *metoikoi* or dwellers among them, and *perioikoi* or dwellers in the vicinity — outsiders as they are vulgarly called — who are, as of old, a source of endless trouble. Like those cities these country churches unite chiefly through conquest of each other or by absorption. Some are slowly learning the principle of representation, but as a whole are in the stage of our Teutonic and English ancestors of centuries ago; for even this method of union is confined to the denomination, while the whole problem of organizing the various religious communities of a given territory for common ends is unsolved. The differentiating process of Protestant theology and polity has gone on until we now hear a cry

for relief, though the movements have wrought out the separation of church and state and led to larger views of our common faith. And the demands of a common humanity for practical work enforce the appeal for better organization. Re-integration is the need of the times.

But to meet this need we have the revered but fossilized ecclesiastical institutions of the early Christian centuries, borrowed largely from the Jewish synagogue and the Greek assembly, or perhaps charitable associations of early times, but full of serious defects when applied to rural societies. This form of the early church is sociologically sound, when tested for the work of a new faith in a densely populated civilization which necessarily works from centers outward into regions of complete skepticism toward it, and where the healthy movement from country to city has been long completed. But we are applying this church to very different conditions. We overlook the fact that we are not yet in a declining but in a growing civilization, where the law is that social movements towards centers are largely normal, and in the main healthful, and that agricultural communities are still fertile in producing villages, and villages are naturally forming cities. We forget this, and cling to the methods of the new Christianity and a decaying civilization. We centralize our power and force, our superfluous energy back into the outlying districts against the law of social gravitation. Our main reliance is upon the congregation in some of its forms, to the almost complete suppression of the family, and in meager use of the church as a universal whole. There is no just proportion of social forces. The church has understood neither the society it deals with nor the social nature of the institutions it brings to society. Its Sunday-schools, its Christian associations, the revival methods of this generation, are nearly all inventions of the cities, and made for them. They are imported into the country districts with little thought of their social structure and adaptation. Almost nothing is of rural origin, or is invented to fit rural communities. The thinking of pastors and people, the instruction of theological schools and the tone of the press are eminently civic and congregational, in the literal sense of these terms. The family, the most important social institution in all country towns, holding every spot where there are any inhabitants with all its powers of constructive work, is quite un-



used or left to such chance Christian offices as it may have in populous cities.

Our need, then, in a word, is for a better knowledge of the facts concerning country towns, and a better comprehension of the whole of the church, the social laws of these communities, and the religious social institutions we apply to them. Re-adjustments must proceed along these lines.

These suggestions are made in the faith that Christian thought and life among us are large enough and enough in earnest to forsake traditional views, so far as this course may be necessary to study the subject in fresh ways regardless of consequences. The church never loses by facing the facts of science, and it had better lead than follow as an unwilling captive.

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PAPER BY REV. WILLIAM BARROWS, D. D.

"Re-adjustments in the church, to meet the needs on the frontier." In condensing an outline of thoughts on this, it will be well to mark off the frontier of to-day. Westward from Pembina and Bismarck, Cheyenne, and the rough ranges back of Denver—among and beyond the head-waters of the Arkansas, with Long's and Pike's and the Spanish peaks always in sight; westward again from Central Texas, and all about the Rio Grande, till we divide it with Mexico at El Paso—this is frontier line. All the United States territory west of it, with generous exceptions in California, Oregon, and Washington, is essentially frontier. It is neither belt, zone, nor square, but one continental mass, penetrated here and there by ranchers, miners, and farmers. Excepting Alaska, the area is about one-third of the United States. It is larger than one-third of Europe. As a field for church work it is totally unprecedented in both quantity and quality, and, as there is no other new world to be discovered and civilized, it can never be repeated, and it offers the most important field ever presented to the church for action. Not being a pagan or heathen field, but nominally Christian, it has several notable features.

1. As a home field, to be worked up to an established or civilized society, like the old states, its extent is remarkable. An east and west diameter of it is equal to one-half the east and west diameter of Europe. The German Empire, Great Britain and Ireland, and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would lie loose in it.

2. The rush of population and settlement in it is without precedent in any land or age. The Goths, and Vandals, and Huns, did not so rapidly overspread Europe. The trail from Chicago to Oregon has been opened, and shortened from one hundred and twenty-nine days for Cushing Eells in 1838 to four days and three hours on his first return in 1884. When I resided in St. Louis, in 1843, there was no locomotive to aid my return to New England nearer than Chambersburg, Pa., and in the autumn of last year, when looking up, at Chicago, a three months' trip of 10,000 miles, six railroad systems offered me 22,000 miles of rails, mostly north, northwest, and west. Since 1840 there have been added to the census tables of the United States, as outlying country, taking population and demanding civil organization, Texas, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, Colorado, Washington, Utah, New Mexico, Idaho, Dakota, Montana, Wyoming. In 1850, the Indian canoe and the rude ferry gave transit over the Missouri at Omaha, where now stands the iron bridge on columns measuring 160 feet from the rock-bed of the river to the road-bed of the locomotive. President Strong of Carleton College informed the writer that in 1853 he crossed the Mississippi to the landing where Minneapolis now stands, and found no dwelling except the lone cabin of the ferryman. Last November I found there a city of 126,000, with mill capacity to put on the world's market 27,000 barrels of flour every day. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln signed the bill granting the Northern Pacific Railroad through a belt 2,000 miles long, and held jointly by Indians and buffalo. In going over it last year I passed thirty-eight towns, ranging from 1,000 to 12,000 in population. This road, with three others, inter oceanic, is relieving much the emigrant oxen, for President Blanchard of Wheaton College wrote me that in 1867, coming east over the plains, he met, in one day, 819 yokes of oxen hauling emigrants and supplies into the West. In 1880 I visited Leadville, Col., a mining camp of 12,000 people (by the United States census), and yet not two years old. Nor is the day of marvels in such rapid

growth ended. Last autumn I passed by Park River, a wheat city in Dakota. In September, 1884, it was an immense wheat field, and a railroad came into the field from Devil's Lake. Within nine months, or prior to the June following, there grew up this city, having three or four hotels, a bank, two churches, two elevators, five lumber yards, a skating rink, and numerous stores, and it had already handled 800,000 bushels of wheat.

To aggregate this growth of settlement: Our frontier line is about one thousand miles, north and south, and during the last forty years it has been moved west on a tidal wave of incoming population on an average of sixteen miles a year. In this period we have settled wild country to the extent of one hundred states like Massachusetts—two and one-half a year.

3. The foundations were never so ample for empire in any country or age as these which the Americans are now moving on. In 1878, Gladstone said: "The United States have a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man." And the frontier in question rounds up and crowns this empire with symmetry and wholeness.

4. The reasonable anticipations of a future for the United States are magnificent beyond expression. When Napoleon passed to Livingston the papers ceding Louisiana to the United States, he remarked: "The day may come when the cession of Louisiana to the United States shall render the Americans too powerful for the continent of Europe." In the same line was the vision of John Adams, much earlier, and without Louisiana, 1766: "The prospect into futurity in America is like contemplating the heavens through the telescope of Herschel. Objects stupendous in their magnitudes and motions strike us from all quarters, and fill us with amazement."

5. This country offers the last among the great chances to make and hold a nation for Christ. It is in the plastic, formative state, as was the pre-Adamite world when those huge and now extinct animals left their footprints. It was their last chance. In our conglomerate of nationalities, and in the assimilation now going on, the old states are strong enough to make a nation to order. We must be done with unpleasant allusions to the foreigner, who is inevitable, and regard the imported thousands as so much stock delivered of Providence, to be manufactured on the Ameri-

can pattern. The best brass, into the composition of which so many metals were fused, was the Corinthian. There is no better American blood than what can be traced back to Scotch-Irish, and Irish pure, and grand old German, and that best English strain, the Anglo-Saxon, pagan, rough and bloody, scoring highest, on land or sea, as the boxers of the world. And of native born or foreign, where can there be for us better brain and muscle, than from the home of the Eriks, old Scandinavia, whence were immigrants to America, 600 years before the Jamestown and Plymouth colonists. The best to be wished, as to our immigrants, were a filter across our harbors, that the ostrich digestion of America might not be over-worked.

6. In marking peculiarities on the frontier, it is specially pertinent to say that it is under strong influences to decivilization. Inorganic masses of people thrown suddenly together; strange tongues; different antecedents; some of the refuse of the old world; ambitious for wealth and power; men desperate from ruined fortunes; unknown to each other, and therefore uncaring more or less for conduct; family life absent, or loose, or half-breed; renegades and desperadoes; some worthy ones with only a purpose to found a movable fortune, and not institutions; American nomads of the plains, and American banditti of the mountains — such is good material for decivilization. And it was good basis for Dr. Bushnell's home missionary and prophetic discourse of 1847: *Barbarism the First Danger*. Why, the most savage animal in Wyoming is the wild dog, decivilized from home and hearthstone in the old East, where by the fireside he lay so reverently during family worship.

Here are some of the factors in the problem of the church to be wrought out on the frontier. Has the church so much elasticity, novelty, adaptation, evolution, as to be able to meet this unprecedented and transient emergency? Of course the church is adequate. The gospel has no limit except human need. There is always a way for grace to overtake sin. We need not leave the state in danger and the church in dishonor on account of difficulties on the frontier. Christ may and shall have dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Mississippi to the ends of the earth.

With what re-adjustments in the machinery of the church?

The general remark must precede, that the main relief lies in multiplying and energizing the old methods of church work.

The East must know more of the frontier. If the directors of Christianizing funds, who ordain methods, and control workmen, and appropriate money, never saw the frontier, the great plains, and the ranges between our double chain of continental mountains, and the Pacific slope, they will not lead the churches up to the necessities of the field. One-tenth of our Christian travel in foreign lands would vastly aid in political and Christian duties at home, if taken between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The greatest surprise which could come to some intelligent and benevolent men and women would be personal knowledge of the American church and the American state two thousand miles west of Boston. The exigencies for re-adjusting church work to the frontier, cannot be understood and met by clerk work in benevolent offices, and by box collections, annually arranged, and taken on bald notice, without information filed in. What Webster said of the statesman, at the New England festival in New York, in 1843, is eminently true of the public working Christian: "Whoever would serve his country in this our day . . . cannot serve it, will not serve it, unless he be able at least to extend his political designs, purposes, and objects till they shall comprehend the whole country, of which he is a servant." On another occasion, when pleading in Congress for internal improvements out West, he said: "There are no Alleghanies in my politics." There should be no Rocky Mountains in the home missions of the church.

A broader and more abundant scattering of printed information through the older states would be a profitable novelty. Probably India and Japan are better written-up to-day for religious readers than our frontier. In the range of field for popular writing of moral tone, none has offered better than our frontier, from the Genessee country and Holland Purchase of New York, and the Western Reserve of Ohio, to the Oregon of Whitman. Cabins and clearings, Indians and beasts of prey, first family altars, Sabbath-schools and sermons, revivals under the trees, heroic men and women; adventure, romance; funerals in the wilderness without clergy; civil, literary and sacred foundations laid humbly and obscurely, which are now grandly historic; statesmen, scholars, and philanthropists from log school-houses — what material here,

dusty and half carried off already by the undertaker, for Christian pens to stimulate the civilization of our remaining American wilderness! Such works crown our foreign field of Christian labor, and aid in filling the ranks and the treasuries for pagan lands. What letters and facts have come back to childhood homes, or are filed in pigeon-holes, which, put into leaflets and tracts and Sunday-school volumes, would be cashed to help a weak treasury and a neglected border!

Comfortable provision for frontier workmen. They forsake many comforts and endure many sorrows of necessity. To these the church should not add the unnecessary. Moreover, the church cannot afford to stint its workmen. It pays to shelter the "reaper," and to provide amply for the horse which hauls it. It has been one of the pains in the frontier travel of forty years to see how some of the missionaries are compelled to live. I speak plainly, because I speak intelligently, and for many who cannot speak for themselves. They do not complain, and it is not the habit of martyrs. Martyrdom for Christ, when needed, is glorious, but when it comes on man and wife, in a process of years, by a deficient policy, it is another thing. Shanties and small drafts quarterly will not do the best that can be done for the frontier, or send the best men. Is it not possible that the old and comfortable East has put a saintly necessity on the home missionary, to deny and endure and sacrifice beyond what is necessary? If certain conveniences and comforts may be had at the same cost for those who go and for those who stay, why make a difference, since all are brethren and should bear one another's burdens? After many and inevitable discomforts are cheerfully assumed by the frontier brother, why add those of which we can as readily relieve him as ourselves? The necessary trials and deprivations must be borne, the unnecessary should be prevented. It would be a re-adjustment in the church, to meet such needs of the frontier workmen whom she has sent out, as can reasonably be met. Two men have said two significant things on these frontier workers. In the last century David Hartley, the eminent friend of the thirteen colonies, said: "Those who have the first care of the new world will probably give it such directions and inherent influences as may guide and control its course and revolutions for ages." And Parkman, in his *Pioneers of France in the New World*,

expressly puts it thus : " Acting at the sources of life, instruments otherwise weak become mighty for good and evil, and men lost elsewhere in the crowd stand forth as agents of destiny." It shows a vast unwisdom to weaken the arms and shorten the days of these agents of destiny, who are generating influences and throwing control of this young nation down the ages.

The magnificent frontier belt, which has been geographically outlined in the opening of this paper, is the great square in the American garden of God where the budding of the nursery trees is to be done. In the near future, and providing the fruits of the Spirit for the world's market, it is a splendid thing to be able to take in hand square leagues of these fruit saplings. The tender shoot, the delicate budding-knife, the juicy bark peeled back, and the one selected bud inserted, — it is the work of seconds, and all the coming tree in its long years of growth and bearing is ordained to the right fruit. The church cannot afford to withhold good and abundant budding-knives from her western nurseryman. This will compel her next generation of workmen there to go into old orchards, and out upon the ends of unseemly and sapless limbs and insert grafts.

The ministry for the new country needs to be *natum pro re*. The field is without precedent, being unlike any pagan, heathen, or settled and civilized country. But our Eastern and old state theological training is based on the wants of an established society and for founded churches or neighborhood colonies. Inorganic, floating, immigrating and emigrating peoples are not contemplated. The theologian sees the stately church and studies for it, perhaps into a fourth year, and even into Germany. Then he can prepare those manuscript sermons, profound in logic, philosophical, linguistic, exegetical, and literary. All well to an extent. The church as well as the state needs West Points. A Dakota, Black Hills, friend tells me of two hearers who busied themselves during the sermon in planning to get possession of the gold placer on which the preacher's shanty stood. The force of the ecclastic and telic particles in the Greek of his text, and a beautiful quotation from Tennyson, would not arrest the attention of the two miners. The mixed population and scattered families and wandering companies are to be pursued by the gospel, with extemporized methods and messages. He whose high training

and highest ambition are for the squaring of any theological circle had better not seek the exercise of his gifts on the border. And the young man of tender, delicate, and æsthetic culture, in elegant halls, with cold and hot water hydrants, will not take readily to *wekiups*, log-cabins, tents and blankets, where many of his parish live. As to hot and cold water, he will find that common in the West as in the East. But under this head some extracts from a letter fresh at hand, from a friend forty-seven years in missionary work beyond the Rocky Mountains, will best show some of the qualities needed in a minister on the frontier: "From February to December, 1885, my field was more than one hundred miles in extent. To make the entire circuit monthly required a drive of horse and buggy of nearly three hundred miles. I was from home more than four-sevenths of the nights. Generally I preached to whites, but I conducted service with Indians in their tongue, to whom I went more than forty-seven years ago. In the performance of the work indicated I slept upon the ground thirty-five nights. . . . For the season's work I have received in money \$27.80, also articles of food and clothing to small amounts. . . . My conviction is that I have worked myself almost to death. . . . During more than three weeks I did not sleep in my house. I judge there is reason to believe that the active period of my ministerial work is nearing its close." The extracts show the kind of ministers needed on the frontier; and they serve to introduce the amazing fact that this man has put \$14,000 of his own money into the foundation of Whitman College in Washington Territory.

But, mainly, laborers more primitive and simple than the regular clergy are needed on the frontier. A church organization, choir, house of worship, and a call to settlement are yet in the future. Christian evolution must yet work long on that wild border before such things. The ordinary graduate of the old seminary, landed there from car, buckboard, or saddle, is like Noah's dove on its first flight. It has been bred to a dovecote. "Saddle and boots" for holy campaigns is what the time and place demand. In working the frontier there must be a cutting loose from the old régime of established society; usages forgotten and methods originated; able and devout men, western bred, put to the front, and costs made secondary. Laymen will best precede the clergy and



broad religious work precede church organization. Philip should find Nathanael, and Andrew, Simon and a goodly company be gathered about Christ, not a meeting-house. In its modern and enlarged sense and varied scope of work, nothing appears to be better than the Sabbath-school in the adjustment of church work to the border. It has come to combine all Christian workers in all forms of Christian work and worship. It can best secure gatherings for teaching Christ. With a civilizing and Christianizing literature which may center in it and be circulated by it, it is probably the best means on the frontier, to evangelize it. Its immense utility is enhanced by its inability to organize a church, since it can work indefinitely and most successfully up to that critical line.

Denominational differences must, for the present, be conceded. This is the most annoying and expensive hindrance to frontier work. Probably an undivided church would accomplish as much at one-fourth the cost as is now done. It is thought to be safe to say that five denominational adjectives now attached to the church of God are costing it a million of dollars apiece annually. They begin to show in the border towns of two hundred, and at the same time begin to make drafts on five benevolent treasuries. This they continue to do until they are cast off into a dying independence. In the beginning it was not so, yet our common Lord suffers it for the love he bears to his church. In the intercessions which he continues to make, is it in the heavenly liturgy also, "That they all may be one"? In a higher state of grace in the church universal, it may be left to local option, in the young town or neighborhood, what kind of a church shall be first founded and what benevolent treasury shall aid it. Then four other treasuries will decline applications for aid and put their funds where needed, and no second church appear till the religious, not denominational, wants of the place call for one. Evidently there is a painful demand for an "ecclesiastical service reform." Pity it is that man's poor denominational scheme postpones the return of the Lord's best scheme.

The needs on the frontier call the church to adjust herself to it with a present and prompt energy. No man substantially eastern in his life can realize these needs. Since the writer began to wander up and down the frontier in 1840, seven new states and eight

territories have been added to the census table of the United States. The best informed scarcely gain time to recover from the surprises at growth. The balance of political power long since crossed the Alleghanies, and is now beyond Cincinnati. Our policy should be to make Christianity as progressive and prompt in investment as federal money. And it is a most practical point in doing the Lord's business, whether the thousand people, where we are investing benevolent funds, are decreasing or increasing. During the last five years Minneapolis and St. Paul have doubled in population. These are sample facts, in any study of the border, omitting which, the East falls behind in work for the new country. When, in 1880, I found a mining city of 12,000 people, only two years old, and a missionary in it contemplating a return to his trade as a carpenter two days in the week to meet personal expenses, and he a bachelor, I felt that the church in the East should inform herself in the facts and adjust herself to the work of the church in the West. An illustrative and admonitory incident shall close our paper. I was once soliciting from a pastor the co-operation of his church in home missions. They were then finishing off a magnificent mediæval church edifice at a cost of probably \$100,000. His reply to my proposal was this: "In about ten years, I presume we shall have this burden off our hands. Then we can pay attention to home missions." How the vague thought of a continental field and the apathy of the man spread out over the unknown West! In the ten years of his cool limitation we have added 17,000,000 to our population, equal to one-half the population of France, a little more than the whole of Spain! Meanwhile, we have put new settlements over the border and into the wild land, equal to twenty areas of Massachusetts.

## III. IN FOREIGN MISSIONARY FIELDS.

PAPER BY REV. E. S. LORENZ.

The quiet assurance of the spectroscopist in announcing the chemical composition of the fixed stars, wakes in me a gentle amazement. Ignoring the immensities of dividing space, and the unspeakably diverse conditions, his faith in his results rests upon the immutability of the laws of light. It requires very much the same implicit faith in the fixedness of the fundamental laws of human nature to make me willing to discuss, even in a general and fragmentary way, the problems which have disturbed the minds of the ablest and most keen-sighted missionaries conversant by personal experience with all the details of the situation. I am comforted, however, by the reflection that the loss of insight into the details of foreign missionary work caused by my distant point of view may be somewhat retrieved by a clearer view, unconfused by distracting details, of the deeper principles and larger relations which exist, and by the absence of all preconceptions and pre-judgments based upon a minute personal experience in a small and in many respects necessarily unrepresentative portion of the field. My personal limitations therefore unite with those of this occasion in making a panoramic and suggestive treatment of the theme peremptory.

In the usual historical sense of the word, Protestant missions are modern. They are the outgrowth and expression of the modern spirit and ideas in the Christian church. The demand for re-adjustment suggested by the general theme of this session would therefore seem less imperative here than in any other province of church work. But in the comparative sense of the word lies our opportunity for the recognition of the rapid development of our century. The decades are now taking strides which would have wearied preceding centuries. Time and space are alike being vanquished, and the angel who shall declare them both "no more" seems at hand. Compared with what has been accomplished during the last half century, all that went before may be justly relegated into the category of the ancient. Nowhere is this more true than in the work of foreign missions. In every quarter of the globe the essential working conditions have been transformed

during the last thirty years, and corresponding re-adjustments must be made in our policy and methods.

I have said that foreign missions are the outgrowth and expression of the spirit and ideas of the church in Christian lands. It follows that any progress made at home should find a corresponding development in the foreign missionary field. Rapid as has been the material and mechanical development of the last fifty years, the social, intellectual, and religious development has kept abreast. The rise and fall of the temporary waves of thought need no consideration here, but the strong currents which they sometimes serve to conceal must be accurately observed, and their application to the subject in hand most carefully determined. A rapid survey of the more notable lines of progress at home will reveal to us as fully, perhaps, as any other course of investigation the re-adjustments that are most urgent abroad. But it must be said that so close are the ties between the home churches and the worker abroad, that most of these re-adjustments are already in progress in many of the foreign fields.

In delightful contrast to the acrimony and bitterness of former theological disputation, the Protestant church has learned to emphasize the cardinal doctrines of Christianity on which all evangelical Christians agree, and to manifest a charitable toleration towards differing views on non-essentials. In the very nature of things nowhere should this broad, liberal spirit find completer mastery and fuller expression than in the presence of the heathen. In the great conflict with the powers of paganism all minor dissensions between Christians must be forgotten. Speculative theology, with its abstractions like algebraic symbols, empty of all real content, and many of them hardly more practical than the theory of the fourth dimension of space, but cumbrous the ground in the presence of the urgent concrete needs of the heathen sitting in the shadow of death. To emphasize the subjective doctrines of the "higher life," as is done by the Plymouth Brethren in the China Inland Mission, or to insist upon immersion as the only valid form of baptism, as in the recent Baptist missions in Armenia, can be fruitful only of schism and unmitigated evil. It matters comparatively little whether the blood-poison of sin is a direct inheritance from Adam, or due simply to an inherited predisposition. The concrete fact of sin and its temporal and eternal results is what

concerns the missionary. "Is the atonement best explained by the theory of Anselm, Grotius, or Bushnell?" is a question of little importance compared with the satisfying truth that "the blood of Jesus Christ, his son, cleanseth us from all sin." The problem of constructing a theodicy based upon I. Peter, iii: 19, should be left exclusively to the schoolmen of Andover, and views *per* or *contra* should have no influence on a board of foreign missions or their workers abroad. The heathen need the fundamental facts and vital principle of Christianity, not our theories. Those bring salvation, and when a few generations have passed and they become ripe for the work, they can be trusted to form systems of theology of their own, which will be of greater value to them in the work of the church, because they will be conformable to their national genius. What right has the Anglo-Saxon to foist upon the Mongolian the theological results of his race idiosyncracies? This theological liberality is preserved from degenerating into a shallow latitudinarianism or indifferentism by its demand for the transformation of Christian doctrine into life and character. Not simply to know doctrines, but to feel them as concrete realities and by assimilation to convert them into spiritual power, is the demand of the spirit of the age. It is only as knowledge is sublimated into experience that we recognize its value.

To this practical tendency of the Christian church at home the work abroad must be adjusted. Instruction in the Scriptures, in the doctrines of Christianity, and even in the learning of the occident, will have its value, but this is not the end for which our missionaries have been sent. A personal saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ is the great object in view, and only as heathen attain this can missions claim success. Nor is this to be looked upon as a final end which shall crown a long course of preparatory education and culture, but as a result that may be expected comparatively soon. The gospel is simple in its primary elements, so that children of five or six years often are favored with most joyful and blessed experiences. The very simplicity and ignorance of the heathen makes them all the more accessible. Madagascar and the islands of Polynesia are a standing proof of the fact that a long course of preparatory instruction is unnecessary. Dr. Rufus Anderson, so long a secretary of the American Board, in his lectures before the Andover students said: "The heathen

know they are sinners; they have a conscience; and if boldly and affectionately approached by one whose own heart is full of the subject, and solemnly assured of their lost condition as sinners and of the free salvation offered them through the Lord Jesus Christ, experience has abundantly shown that there is no way so effectual as this of securing the aid of the Holy Spirit for their conversion. The gospel may have direct access to the most debased heathen mind. Nothing necessarily precedes the simple declaration of salvation through the cross of Christ, when it comes from lips that have been touched with a coal from off the altar of God."

The colleges and schools for the education of the heathen youth have been a temptation and a snare to many missionaries, leading them to substitute intellectual inspirations and ambitions for the baptism of power from above and the divine hunger for soul-saving. That so many of our foreign workers have been scholarly men has made them all the more susceptible to the allurements of the educational method as opposed to the evangelistic. There is less sacrifice involved, less contact with the repulsive aspects of the work on the one hand, and greater intellectual satisfaction and progress in culture on the other. Secularity cuts the aggressive missionary nerve, and he degenerates into an instructor of human science, which crowds out the instruction in religious things.

While a stirring of the soil is essential and a fertilization sometimes may be necessary, nothing but weeds will grow unless the vital germs of the good seed be planted. A long course of preparatory training often defeats the final end desired, by robbing the truth of its freshness before the personal application is made. Many of the bitterest and most harmful enemies of Christianity in India are graduates of the mission schools and colleges. A majority of the graduates of some schools come out confirmed skeptics, scoffing alike at their native religion and Christianity.

To missionary and pupil alike the educational policy is dangerous. It is all the more to be regretted, because it is as true of intellectual culture as of anything else, that if we seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, all these things will be added unto us. On the one hand the exercise of saving faith is easier for a simple minded, uneducated person, and, on the other, conversion is often just the beginning of the intellectual life. Not

education preparatory to conversion, therefore, should be the idea, but education after conversion. The leading truths of the Christian religion once impressed as realities, the whole mental development is vitalized and quickened, and Christian scholars are the result. Evangelism, not education, is the hope of heathendom.

In looking again at the Christian church we are struck with the growing tendency to minify the importance and sanctity of the various forms of church polity which obtain in the Protestant church. Our Episcopalian brother may believe quite as firmly in the reality of the apostolic succession as formerly, but he is not quite as apt to reject as unworthy all other forms of church government. Nor does the Congregationalist insist as vehemently as of yore that his polity alone has scriptural precedent and divine sanction. The Convocation of Canterbury is to have a third chamber made up from the laity. The state secretaries of the Congregational Home Missionary Society incidentally exercise not a few episcopal functions. Not denunciation, but appreciation, and even appropriation, is the order of the day. This spirit of mutual appreciation is also breaking down the less honorable walls of division between denominations more nearly related in polity and creed. While the "church consciousness" or *esprit du corps* so valuable in the sight of denominational leaders is increasing rather than diminishing, it is applied to aggressive work for God rather than, as formerly, to combats with neighboring denominations. The ill-fated attempt of Count Zinzendorf to found an interdenominational society among the Germans of Pennsylvania in 1742 was prophetic of the numerous union enterprises so powerful and useful among us. The idea of co-operation among the churches is rapidly developing, and the future is big with promise of organic union among related denominations.

If this growing tendency among us is fruitful of good, how much more valuable would it not be among the small and scattered squads of Christian workers in foreign lands. Every argument in favor of interdenominational effort and organic union at home is multiplied a thousand times in force when transferred to the foreign field. There are no less than thirteen different Presbyterian organizations doing missionary work in India, according to Rev. Dr. Chamberlain of India. I quote from an able and earnest address, which he delivered in New York last January, the following facts

illustrating the results: "Alas! they are not united. Judah vexes Ephraim and Ephraim envies Judah. In one up-country station in India, which I have repeatedly visited, where one mission could well do all the work, the representatives of two different branches of the Presbyterian family, both represented in the late Belfast council, have been working in unseemly rivalry. Members of the one church, publicly excommunicated after careful judicial process by its ecclesiastical courts, were received to the Lord's Supper in the other without a question; and rival services were held in the same street, so near that the singing in the one sometimes prevented the congregation in the other from hearing the preaching of their own minister." An organic union of all the Presbyterian missions, all the Methodist, all the Baptist, and so on through the groups of denominations in each country occupied, is simply imperative. The work would be better organized. The expense of management would be greatly diminished. Unseemly rivalry would be largely avoided, and the moral, or rather immoral, effect of the present scandalous church differences upon the outside heathen world counteracted. That such an organic union is feasible is proved by abundant experience in Australia, Japan, and China. The four Presbyterian organizations working in Japan have united their work, and the "United Church of Christ in Japan" stands as a monument to their sagacity and magnanimity. Native ministers are trained in the common theological seminary at Tokio, in whose faculty representatives of the several organizations unite. The testimony of Dr. Chamberlain, whom I quoted a moment since, is conclusive with reference to the union at Amoy, China, where all the missions of England, Scotland, and America are working in thorough union. He says: "Missionaries at other stations on the coast intimated to me that the unusual success of the Amoy missions was because they had presented so united a front without dissensions." This large measure of success has opened the eyes of the other missionaries of China, and other like unions are forming. These organic relations between the missionaries in the field need not conflict with their relations to the several home boards who support them. Indeed, organic union between related denominations in the foreign field may prepare the way for organic union at home.

One of the chief advantages of this coöperation and union is the



opportunity it gives the Christian natives to organize an independent homogeneous church. In the development of this organization they should be largely left to the guidance of their national genius. Variations from English or American church life are not necessarily weaknesses or defects. They may represent real improvement. They certainly do prove that the vital principle of Christianity is clothing itself in a national garb that will all the more certainly give it access to the hearts of the unconverted. Our missionary boards have often a quite unconscious ambition not only to make Christians of the heathen but also to make English or American Christians. Such is the triumph of national narrowness! The conscious aim should be the very opposite, to conserve their future propagating power by making them Japanese, Chinese, or Indian Christians. To denationalize them by education, social and religious training, is to rob them of power and wake a life-long discontent. If the organizing instinct is strong in a people, by all means let them work out a close episcopalian organization. If individualism is the ruling instinct, let them organize on the congregational basis. That the Christianity of different nations will display various externalities, and even differ in the particular doctrines emphasized, does not matter as long as its vital force is manifest. It is the high glory of Christianity that it is cosmopolitan in spirit and able to enter into and adapt itself to national peculiarities and idiosyncracies without losing its value.

Organic union between the diverging types among our denominations is not only at present not feasible, but also not desirable. Experience has proved that honorable denominational rivalry sweetened by Christian charity is a valuable stimulus to missionary activity. It has done the Baptists good to have the Methodists enter Burmah, and in Japan the same aggressive people are proving a valuable spur in the sides of the Presbyterians. But there is room for inter-denominational organization. The American Presbyterian Press establishment at Shanghai, China, patronized as it is by all the other missionary societies, suggests a field that is open to union enterprise. Medical dispensaries and hospitals, asylums and schools of various kinds, would produce larger results for a given outlay under union management. Inter-denominational councils for interchange of experience and methods, for a more systematic division of the work, for settling inter-denominational

differences, for formulating inter-denominational laws, and for other work of like character, should be organized in every field. By these and other methods, and by the exercise of the charity which the gospel the missionaries preach demands, all the evil results of denominationalism could be avoided without diminishing its stimulus in the least.

Parallel with this tendency towards co-operation and unity is the growing liberality with reference to methods of work. The false mechanical biblicism which must find minute biblical precedent for every method, and the superstitious subordination of church work to custom and tradition, are breaking away, and the God of to-day is being permitted to place the sanction of success upon methods adapted to the needs of to-day. The church edifice is no longer the only shrine, nor the clergy the sole stewards of the divine mysteries. The laity are asserting their rights as members of the universal priesthood of saints. They begin to realize that they have better opportunities for aggressive personal work and greater access to the hearts of the people, than the regular clergy. The 10,274 native helpers connected with American missions prove that this tendency is also felt abroad. It ought to find fuller development, for surely an American can oversee more than four native workers. The policy of extreme caution in appointing native preachers as pastors obtains too largely among our missionaries everywhere. Two missions were located in Fuchow, China, at about the same time, and with about equal resources of men and money. Fourteen years after, the one had accomplished ten times as much as the other, because, at the instance of a visiting bishop, they rapidly enlarged their corps of native workers, and laid upon them pastoral responsibilities. Some of the most brilliant results have been achieved in Japan by native preachers. Polynesia has largely been Christianized by natives sustained by native missionary contributions. The missions of the United Brethren in Christ on the west coast of Africa are almost wholly served by natives, and are recognized as the most successful on the west coast by the Freedman's Aid Society of England, which for that reason is now in active co-operation. With an unstudied adaptiveness to native feelings, prejudices, and points of view, with a simplicity and directness of idea and speech after which the sophisticated missionary strives in vain, and with the enthu-

siasm and ardor of a new experience and unhackneyed ideas, the native preacher and lay-worker are the key to the position, the hope of the heathen world.

The attitude of the Christian church toward the temporal welfare of men, as seen in its humane and charitable undertakings, in its interest in educational, scientific, and civil affairs, in its study of the social problems presented by our complex civilization, should be imitated abroad, especially among uncivilized and barbarous peoples. Civilization will naturally develop from conversion, but that development needs direction. But it must be a natural, healthy development of the old life, not the mechanical introduction of a new life. All old manners and customs, civil, social, and intellectual, which are not physically, mentally, or morally detrimental, and are compatible with Christianity, should be deliberately retained. If Japanese art could prove such a stimulus to our decorators and artists, may there not be other elements in their strange civilization equally stimulating and refreshing? An oriental prostration is not stranger or more ungraceful to us than a Parisian bow to a peasant of the Black Forest. Their methods of business, manufactures, agriculture, and the like should be gradually improved. Industrial schools should be established, and manual training combined with the present instructions. As fast as they are ready for them, new arts and industries could be introduced. The influence of this practical training would be much more valuable than most of the mental discipline now provided, and add temporal to spiritual blessing and prosperity.

The greatest and most urgent need of re-adjustment with reference to foreign missionary work is not abroad, but here at home. Our present missionary contributions and number of missionaries would have been sufficient fifty years ago, when most of the heathen nations had barred their doors against the Christian church. We are half a century behind the age. And such a half century! The stupendous enlargement of missionary opportunity it presents is without precedent and beyond the power of our imaginations. Two-thirds of the circumference of the globe has practically been annihilated. The millions of China are nearer to-day than were the Indians of Oregon thirty years ago. The hermit peoples have ceased their hiding, and joined the great family of the nations of the world. The doors which had been

barred against the missionary stand invitingly open, and the voices of a thousand millions of souls come from lands sitting in the darkness of heathendom or the somber twilight of a decayed and degraded Christianity, calling for the true light. The cannon-balls of Commodore Perry prepared an entrance for the missionary into Japan, with its thirty-five millions, in 1853. In 1857 the death of the East India Company made the Christian world responsible for the two hundred millions of souls in India. In 1858 God used an iniquitous war to batter down the Chinese wall which had sheltered four hundred millions against the gospel. In 1859 Livingstone made the first of the brilliant series of discoveries, continued by Stanley, which has opened Africa to the civilized world, and laid the spiritual needs of its unnumbered millions upon the hearts of the Christian church. From pole to pole the whole earth is calling for the gospel. While we delay, thousands daily fall into an unlighted grave. Yet the church spends but seven millions of dollars annually, or less than one cent per soul, for their rescue. Is there not a crying demand for a re-adjustment that will multiply our contribution of men and money by ten, and so bring it to a more satisfactory proportion to the colossal opportunity Providence presents to the church?

The need of this re-adjustment at home is emphasized by the fact that the doors open to Christian missions are open as well to all the evil influences of our civilization. Commerce has done much to enlarge the opportunities of the church, but its general influence has been most vicious. Sailors and traders throw off the decent restraints of civilized life in heathen countries, and by their licentiousness, cruelty, and fraud bring disrepute upon the religion they are supposed to represent. Said a Chinaman: "Christians all cheat and oppress Chinaman. Our gods teach us better. Christians better go to our joss houses." The unspeakable cruelties of the slave trade in Africa, the almost deadlier opium trade in China, and the ruinous rum trade in all the heathen world, are crushing arguments against Christianity, and seem to prove its falseness and hypocrisy. Germany sends millions of dollars' worth of rum to Africa every year, and a cargo of the same accompanies every missionary from England and America.

The influence of the policy of our civil governments has been

hardly less compromising. England's record in India for a round century is shameful enough, but to it must be added the outrage of forcing the opium trade upon China. The war of 1858 against China, and in 1864 against Japan, could certainly bring no credit to the nations participating in it and sharing the plunder of indemnity. The treatment of the Chinese by the citizens of the Pacific slope, abetted by our general government, could hardly be considered a recommendation of our religion. With rare exceptions the consuls and other civil officers of Christian nations are neutralizing the efforts of the missionaries by their open lack of sympathy or antagonism. The doors of the world are open to the rapacity and selfishness of our civil governments, and their influence for evil is incalculable.

To the evil influence of our commerce and diplomacy must be added that of our secularized methods of education and of our skepticism and materialism. The science and philosophy of the occident converts every student of the governmental schools of India and Japan into a scoffing atheist, whose very learning and dialectic skill make him a more formidable enemy of our faith. Many of the professors in their universities imported from Christian lands are disciples of Spencer or Haeckel. No department of the public library at Tokio, Japan, is so well supplied as that of infidel and materialistic literature. The blasphemous writings of Ingersoll are scattered broadcast and are exerting a wider influence for evil abroad than they do at home. While the field of the world is waiting for the good seed the enemy is busily sowing tares.

Dr. Duff, in a stirring missionary address delivered not long before his death, said the church had only been playing at missions. One ordained missionary for every million souls in China is certainly very languid play. When all the Protestant nations of Europe and America pay but seven millions of dollars annually — hardly enough to pay the daily expenses of their standing armies — it does not appear as if they cared much for the game. They certainly enjoy horse-racing better, for they pay more for it! The need of the gospel by a billion souls is the great modern need, and to this we must adjust ourselves. We must stop amusing ourselves with foreign missions and make a business of them.

We must stop crowding our frontier villages and incipient cities with starving preachers, and send the surplus to the waiting millions of Africa and Asia. While Satan is pouring into these lands rivers of rum and the nameless vices of our corrupt civilization, let us pour in the treasure of our wealth, brain, culture, zeal, and love. Let us whiten the sea with the sails of the ships bearing the heralds of the gospel and loaded with the product of our Christian press. Why are we so apathetic? Why do we wait for the crack of the whip of duty? Alas, the church at home and abroad is suffering from the greatest of all modern needs — the need of the power of the Holy Ghost. Shall we not tarry at Jerusalem, praying with one accord until the baptism of fire shall come? A living coal from heaven's altar would unseal our dumb lips, kindle our passing intellectual interest in missions into consuming zeal and inflame our hearts until the whole world felt the warmth of our love. In the midst of a desperate famine the starving Karens of Burmah brought to the missionary a considerable sum of money to send the gospel to the tribes back in the mountains. The missionary refused to accept the money, and bade them apply it to their own pressing needs. "Ah," said these converted heathen, "we can live on rats, but the Ka Khyens cannot live without the gospel." It is this deep realization of spiritual needs, this blood earnestness, this spirit of self-sacrifice, which the power of the Holy Ghost will furnish us. Without this fundamental re-adjustment of the church to divine sources of power all our other re-adjustments will be vain and futile. This greatest of all modern needs supplied, all passing needs will be met, and the chariot of the Lord will drive on victoriously over land and sea until foreign missions shall be no more, because Christ and his bride, the church, shall have found a home in every nation and in every tribe.

## ADDRESS BY VEN. ARCHDEACON W. W. KIRKBY.

It is generally supposed that when a stranger is brought from far to plead for any good cause, the strength of the advocacy must be in proportion to the distance from which the speaker has come. I am sadly afraid that there will be a wide divergence between this theory and my address to you this morning. I have been brought from Brooklyn, N. Y., but I happen to have spent twenty-seven years of my life in the great mission-field, and so should be able to speak with authority on the question before us now. But it so happens that the part of the work in which it was my privilege to serve God in the gospel of his dear Son among the heathen, was the most inapt for our purpose to-day. A good grievance is the thing wanted, and of that I am deprived. My experience was rather on the lines of what is aimed at in this Congress than opposed to it. In 1852, when the Church Missionary Society of England sent me to Manitoba, then the Red river of the North, I found the principle of non-interference recognized and at work. The Wesleyans were at Norway Home, the north end of Lake Winnipeg. Three hundred miles south, and near the entrance of the river into the lake, was the Indian settlement which belonged to our own church. Next came the Grand Rapids and one or two other stations containing a mixed population of Indians and half-breeds, all under our care. Next came the Scotch settlement, under their own pastor; then the French Canadians, under the care of the Roman Catholic Church. We never interfered with each other, nor felt that we were injured by our neighbors. Presently the Wesleyan and his flock came over to us, thus extending our boundaries.

After this, missionaries were multiplied and rivalries began. Our own church got on as far as the English river. The Roman Catholics crossed the watershed of the Saskatchewan and McKenzie river valleys and planted themselves in the Athabasca district. To me it was given to go beyond them and begin work on the banks of the great McKenzie. God blessed our work there, and for a time we were quiet and happy. Our Roman Catholic neighbors were six hundred miles away, and the nearest missionary of our own church seventeen hundred. That seemed space

enough to work in, without treading on each other's toes. But, alas, Ephraim began to envy Judah, and Judah to vex Ephraim, and to my discomfort two earnest, devoted Roman Catholic missionaries invaded Fort Simpson, tried to hinder my work there, and then went to Fort Good Hope, six hundred miles north of me, to establish a station. That was all right. I did not so much mind their going beyond me, although that caused me a pang or two, but because they would come and interfere with the poor people under my care. I remonstrated, but in vain, and then felt like retaliating. But two wrongs don't make a right; so instead of going to Fort Good Hope, I determined to press past them, enter within the Arctic circle, cross the Rocky mountains and get down into Alaska. And this was done, and to-day in your presence I thank God that the privilege of planting the standard of the cross within the Arctic circle was granted to me. And you, dear friends, may thank him that you had a share in that honor; for we missionaries are but "messengers of the churches" to the heathen world. Two years in succession I went to Alaska, and on my return the second time found that the Romanists meant to go there to spend the winter. On reaching home, to my joy I found that a young missionary had been sent to my assistance, the bishop in his letter to me saying that he hoped Mr. McDonald might go to Fort Liard, two hundred miles away, that we might be near each other and strengthen each other's hands. But when I knew what our opponents were about to do I said, "No, don't go to Liard, but go to Alaska, and God go with you — as he will — and bless you!" and the dear fellow went, and God did bless him, and we have seventeen hundred baptized Christians in that mission to-day.

So I have made good my point at the beginning, that my experience in the missionary field does not afford a strong case for the purpose of this Congress. But others do. We all know the shame and the scandal caused by the Church of England in its interference with the work done in the Sandwich Islands, and all rejoice in the noble contrast to this which the Church Missionary Society manifested in Madagascar by withdrawing her missionaries from that island rather than interfere with the work of the London Missionary body. But one of the saddest of all instances of hindering instead of helping God's work in the mission field is



the case of Uganda in Africa. You will all remember the visit of your own Stanley to King M'tesa, and how the heart of the Christian world was thrilled by the great explorer's appeal that missionaries might be sent to teach that dusky monarch and his people. The very day that letter appeared in the London papers twenty thousand dollars were sent to the Church Missionary Society, in order that agents might go at once to Uganda. A band of six, containing clergymen, printers, artisans, etc., set off on their god-like errand. The king received them kindly, and placed himself under Christian instruction. All went well for a time, and the best hopes were entertained for the success of the enterprise. Then the enemy crept in. Jesuits came from France with promises of earthly power. The English missionaries were denounced as unauthorized by their government. The childish mind of the king was changed. Persecution followed, and the lives of the missionaries were sacrificed. The king has since died, but the trouble still exists. Native converts and good Bishop Hannington were the last to suffer.

Such cases as these, in addition to the waste of strength and means caused by missionaries invading the work of others, are our warrant for such meetings as this. For this I give my heartiest sympathy to the purpose of the Congress. No one will accuse me of want of loyalty to the church to which I belong. Her principles and ritual, her professed submission to God's holy word, her great and glowing zeal for missions, come home to my heart and receive back all my devotion and love. But at the same time the prosperity of the Saviour's cause, — the hastening on of the coming of his kingdom, — has equal if not greater claims. If the disciples of the Lord will all unite in aiding, not hindering, each other in preaching the gospel among the heathen; if, instead of the endless controversies we hear, we would stand shoulder to shoulder by each other in the blessed work of missions, then would half our troubles cease, and the world would believe our testimony. Will it ever come that in the presence of the great work of evangelizing the world Judah will cease to envy Ephraim, and Ephraim will cease to vex Judah? I am not for precipitate counsels, but every moment we lose the world is sinking — souls dying. Let all minor differences go, and with one heart and one mind let us unite in the salvation of men.

## SPEECH BY REV. H. C. HAYDN, D.D.

The movement of thought in this Congress from the beginning until this moment has been backward towards the simplicity that is in Christ — towards the primal elements of the gospel, as voiced by our Lord Jesus Christ and by his apostles; and in facing this great problem of world-conquest we need to go back just there. In respect to all other matters nothing is more vital than this: That we go back to the first principles. We recognize here the headship of our Lord Jesus Christ, and rejoice in it, for in that is our hope. We take up his wonderful saying, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men" — all sorts of men, all nationalities of men — "unto myself"; and in this is our ground of confidence as we take abroad the everlasting gospel. We hear him say, "Preach my gospel to every creature"; and, as loyal subjects of the King, we dare not abridge the great commission. We read his words touching human brotherhood, the solidarity of the race, and we dare not contract the idea of brotherhood so as to leave outside of the circle one solitary human soul.

Now, if there be any re-adjustment needed (and it seems to be implied that there is), I believe it lies first in this: that the church of the living God face the great problem of the world's salvation. But you say, Is not the church already facing the great problem? Some of the church are facing it. A certain percentage of the church faces it. Fifty per cent. of the church, perhaps (and I speak on the outside), faces it, and accepts the great commission of the Lord Jesus Christ in a practical way, so that they put their prayers, their sympathies, their alms, their efforts, into it, and do their little work here and their little work there, under the inspiration of that great world-idea that is to orb itself before every soul, till, in the passion of the Lord Jesus Christ to save the world, we do our part as workers in this great, uprising kingdom of the blessed God. I certainly realize the inspiration of this great idea in doing the little work that falls to me. It is a grander thing, it seems to me, to have carried mortar for Solomon's temple than to have been the architect of the fellaheen hovel; and I certainly rejoice in this — and all believers ought to rejoice in it — that they are engaged upon a work so grand that it will not stop

until in the ages it is fulfilled, and the kingdoms of this earth are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.

Now, I say that this passion needs to take possession of the church of Christ. I am not finding any fault. I am an optimist in respect to this matter. If I am an enthusiast about anything, I am about this matter of the world's conquest for the Lord Jesus Christ. I am not finding any fault. On the contrary, everything is so hopeful and aggressive, so upbuilding and inspiring for those who are in it that we want to see the other fifty per cent. in it, too, and to have the whole church face this great problem of the world's salvation in faith and hope and consecration, that the world may speedily be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters fill the sea.

I believe that is the great re adjustment that needs to be made — the re-adjustment of that percentage of the church, and I say also of that percentage of the ministry, not yet enlisted. For there is a very considerable percentage of the Christian ministry, strange as it may seem, that never yet have taken this work of the conquest of the world — all peoples, kindreds, and tongues under heaven — into their hearts, and so out of their own hearts endeavored to kindle the people under their charge to the same world-wide apprehension of the great fact that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners — all sinners on the face of the whole earth.

Then another thing. If we are to do the work that is incumbent upon us, we must more faithfully study the providences of God. There is a providence that is calling loudly from the great wards of our cities that are without Christ. Beyond a doubt there is a call of that sort. There is a call from the frontier of this great country. Beyond a doubt, it is a call of God. But I say there is not a call of God's providence more signally, more unmistakably voiced than the call of God's providence to lift Africa out of its darkness into the light of God's countenance. Since the time that Livingstone traversed the dark continent, traveling twenty-six thousand weary miles on foot, through jungle and desert tract, in the face of wild beasts and wilder men; and since the day when (however he may have been backed by an enterprising newspaper, however he may have been seconded in his endeavors) the providence of God sent Henry Stanley into Africa after Livingstone there can have been no question, it seems to me, in any intelligent

mind as to whether God is calling the church to take possession of Africa. Just as distinct to-day is God's voice calling upon the church to take possession of Japan, an empire almost as large as Great Britain, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. If there ever was a distinct call, this is one. When a nation is wheeling into line with western civilization shall it wheel into line with Christian civilization also? Shall it wheel into line with Christ at the helm? Shall it wheel into line with Christian thought and Christian sentiment and Christian literature pervading it? Here I certainly must part company with my brother, who opened the discussion in respect to this matter of education. Certainly I cannot stand upon that ground. In such an empire as Japan, if Christian education does not take hold of this work, we shall fall behind in the race. Christian education is also a great instrumentality in gospel evangelization here and everywhere under the sun. It must be held in due proportion, but certainly it has its place.

So then, friends, when the providence of God calls us out to the wider world, what are its tokens? Why, the peoples of the earth are already mingling together; the fences are all down betwixt the nations; the seas are bridged; we are learning, as never before, that men are one. Advanced thought takes up the saying of the apostle, and voices it: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth"; and we are learning that those peoples that a little while ago we ignored or despised because we knew so little about them, are men, not only of flesh and blood like ourselves, but capable of great things when once the gospel of Jesus Christ has transformed them; capable of taking their places alongside their brethren of the Anglo-Saxon race or of any other race whatsoever; so that Christian heroism, Christian faith, and Christian consecration mean to the inhabitants of the Samoan Islands what they mean to the inhabitants of Great Britain. Just now, fifty-three men in England have risen up ready to take the place of Bishop Hannington in the heart of Africa; but that is not one whit more grand or gracious in the sight of God than was a similar volunteering of native converts in the Samoan Islands to take the place of slaughtered brethren in New Guinea. So everywhere. Given the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, given the gospel of his dear Son, and among all kindreds and tongues and peoples under heaven the fruits are essentially the same. This is the work

we are at, and when we have this free spirit of the gospel going through all the church of the living God, we may be sure that methods will essentially take care of themselves. One man will rise up, like Bishop Taylor, to go out and plant missions of a certain sort—self-supporting missions, as he calls them—in the heart of Africa. Another man will be taking up his march abroad on his own resources and of his own motion, supporting himself. Mission boards will be elastic enough to let the free life of the church, consecrated and quickened of the Holy Ghost, take its course among the nations, and men will run to and fro, bearing the tidings of the blessed gospel of the Son of God, and the earth shall be filled with his glory, as the waters fill the sea. We shall not have a little clique here saying, "We believe in home missions," and a little clique there saying, "We believe in foreign missions," but all united, we shall press on the solution of the great problem.

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SPEECH BY REV. JULIUS H. WARD.

As I have listened to the papers in this Congress, I have said to myself, "What is the note?" It has seemed to be re-adjustment. But at the close of this Congress may I not say that it is construction? And what has this Congress done toward constructive unity of the churches? In the first place, the chairman of its council, Dr. Anderson, referred to the recent action of the Episcopal Convention in Louisiana, which unanimously voted to ask the bishops of the Episcopal Church to extend their historical orders to other churches, without proposing to disturb these in their freedom of action. That looks to a construction of local churches in a large way. In the next place, Dr. Leonard W. Bacon spoke of the necessity that the churches in a town should be treated as a whole—not as so many broken sects or fragments, but as a large and comprehensive unity. In the next place, Mr. George last evening spoke of the working-man. Although he said that anarchists had hope of the kingdom of heaven in this world, yet he looked forward, with the hope of the working-man, to the time when the

church should be a working kingdom of God in this world and the working-men should have their place in it. That was the whole force to me of last evening's discussion, and a hopeful presentation it was, from the working-man's point of view, for the most part, of what the church has to do. In the next place, there was yesterday morning a statement of reconstructed beliefs. Dr. Curry and Dr. Parker yesterday morning read papers favoring something simpler and plainer — something simpler, almost, than the Apostle's Creed. Is it not a gain to have reached that point in a congress like this? And again, this morning, there has been a statement by one gentleman that the working church in the city must be an enlargement of the city church until it can take in all the people. It must make itself popular, through free seats and through other agencies. That is a strong point. And again, Mr. Dike has told us that the reconstruction of the church should be of such a kind that it shall be made upon the basis of social organization — in other words, that the coming church, the working church of the future, shall be a church that is true to the laws of economic science and social life. A few moments ago we treated the subject of foreign missions, and what has been the result of that? It has looked towards a larger unity, and the unity, it seems to me, lies in the work of converting the persons who preside at the boards of missionary organization at home.\*

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\* On account of the unusual length of the session, Mr. Ward was limited to three minutes.

## CLOSING ADDRESSES.

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ADDRESS BY HON. R. C. PARSONS.

I don't exactly know, in a closing address, whether to speak to the assemblage on the right hand, or to this beautiful audience on the left. I have read in my life of congresses of women; I have been a member of the Congress of the United States; I have been a member of a congress of lawyers; but I think of all the talkers that I have ever known in my life, this Congress of Churches beats them all to pieces. There has been knowledge enough brought into this great convention by this body of clergymen to stock, as I hope it will, the entire United States, and do them a great deal of good.

I noticed that my friend Dr. Ladd, in his very felicitous address of welcome to our guests, spoke of the beauty, the grace, and the glories of our city. Now, if there is anything in the world that Cleveland is especially and particularly modest about, it is about the beauties of Cleveland. I know perfectly well that Cleveland lies like a beautiful queen on the shores of this great inland sea, contemplating her own beauty, and sunning herself in the mirror of the lake; but my friend Dr. Ladd was the first man I have ever known to formulate it into public speech, and say anything about it entirely out of doors. I am glad that he has brought the subject to your notice. And now, perhaps I ought to say a single word farther to the audience, and that is, that this beautiful city is only the gateway to this great State of Ohio, and that I want you when you go home to tell your people all about what a mighty and growing commonwealth it is. Why, within the life-time of gentlemen sitting in this audience, there was not a white man upon the soil of Ohio. It is but a little more than two hundred years since La Salle came down from his cold Canadian winter shores, and found here a great primeval wilderness. A hundred years thereafter, this great territory, its soil still virgin, was trans-

ferred by the French nation to England. A little while after came the Revolutionary War, and in 1788 the very first settlement by New England people was made at Marietta. What a wonderful contrast has the time from 1788 to 1886 produced in the State of Ohio! In 1800 there were but forty-five thousand people upon the soil; in 1880 there were three million five hundred thousand. And what was the class of people that came to Ohio? They were the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, the descendants of the Puritans, who brought to this soil the Bible, Christianity, the church, and the school-house; and every man knows that in whatever land you go, in whatever part of the earth, wherever you find a civilization guided by the Bible, substantially based upon Christianity, it is the only civilization on earth worth having. Everybody knows that. The nearer a man lives a Christian life, the nearer a state adopts Christian principles, the higher the culture and the more magnificent the growth. There is no doubt about that.

Now, my fellow-citizens of the audience, and my friends, I simply want to say a word to you farther about our State, and I will take my seat; because I want you to go home a little instructed as to its resources, its forty thousand square miles of land, its twenty-five millions of acres of soil, with its ten thousand acres of coal and iron lands, with all its fertility, with all its beauty. I want you to tell the world of its thirteen hundred school-houses, its thirty-three colleges, its seven thousand miles of railway, its great lake and mighty rivers. Tell them of the valleys of the Scioto, the Hocking, the Muskingum, — those lands of plenty where corn and wine and buckwheat and oil abound; of its vast mineral wealth; its stores of coal, and iron manufactured in those great laboratories where the chemical forces of nature are at work in silence and in the dark. It is in just such work-shops as these that silver and gold and diamonds are made. Did you ever see a diamond made? Can all the world make a diamond? You know well that away down in the quiet earth, in the great laboratory there, the Almighty makes the diamonds, and man can only polish them and place them upon the neck of beauty. Pope said:

On her white breast a sparkling cross she wore.  
Which Jews might kiss, and infidels adore.



And yet, if you will go with me south of the equator, I will show you a diamond cross made by the Almighty hand, every diamond a star, every star a world,—a glittering, shining, blazing cross, pinned by the Almighty himself upon the bosom of the universe.

I want to say one word to you, gentlemen, about the great feeling in the State of Ohio in regard to the labor question, to which you have given so much attention. I want you to understand, as you go home, what the feeling of Ohio is upon the subject. You have lived, most of you to know, and all of you to read, that there have been three great events in the history of this country: the first, when the shot was fired at Lexington that was "heard around the world"; the second, when the shot was fired at Sumter that aroused millions of human hearts to battle with rebellion and treason; the third was when the bomb was thrown and fired in Chicago, which dashed, as by the thunderbolt of the Almighty, anarchism and communism and white slavery out of this land forever more. I want you to go home and tell your people that there is no farther room in the United States for anarchism or communism or white slavery, that finally the people of the United States have come to this conclusion: that if a man does not choose to work, nobody on earth shall have the right to make him, and that if any one, however humble, desires to work, no thousands of men shall prevent him, if it costs a million of lives to protect him.

I have heard, gentlemen, very much of your intelligence, of your high respectability, of the remarkable personal beauty of some of the members of this Congress. I am glad we have welcomed you all here. We welcomed you with pleasure; we part from you with the greatest regret. I hope that all of you may return home safely to your wives and your children and your parishioners. And in bidding you good-bye, and giving you our heartiest commendation as we "speed the parting guest," I express the hope that you will not only have a pleasant journey through the remainder of your lives, but that at last you may find the home above in the beautiful city, where the Lord himself shall extend the right hand of fellowship, and you shall sit down for evermore in the kingdom of God.

